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[Bertram, Charles]

THE DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN,

TRANSLATED FROM

Richard of Cirencester:

WITH

THE ORIGINAL TREATISE

DE SITU BRITANNIÆ;

AND

A COMMENTARY ON THE ITINERARY;

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS.

London:

PRINTED FOR J. WHITE AND CO., FLEET STREET,

By Richard Taylor and Co. Shoe Lane.

M.DCCC.IX.

TO

THE REV. WILLIAM COXE,

ARCHDEACON OF WILTS, ETC.,

THESE PAGES

ARE DEDICATED

IN TESTIMONY OF RESPECT AND GRATITUDE.

English
Elizabethan
3-16-44
49881

PREFACE.

RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER has rendered such essential service to the cultivators of our national antiquities, and his merits have been so warmly acknowleged, that it may perhaps appear almost superfluous to detain the reader with a few observations in defence of his work. But unfortunately even the science of antiquities is not without its sects and parties; and if some have extolled Richard more than he deserves, others, inferior indeed in authority, have as strenuously laboured to degrade him below his true standard.

One writer has represented him as "possessed of the general spirit of his profession in the middle ages, something between bold

conjecture and inventive fraud;" has charged him with "having laid out new Itinera, imagined colonies, &c. inserted some names which, though real, were posterior to the Roman times, and some which may safely be affirmed to have been fabricated by himself." Others confine themselves to assertions that Richard possessed no materials which we have not, and wanted many which we possess, and that he made neither a faithful nor a judicious use of those documents to which he had access.

It might be reasonably supposed that charges so confidently advanced would at least be supported by some shadow of argument, if not of decisive proof. It certainly could not have been deemed superfluous to point out some of the names which Richard fabricated, some of the colonies which he imagined, some of the new Itinera which he laid out. Yet it is remarkable that

the very author who inveighs in the strongest terms against him, has been compelled to acknowlege that a Roman road may be still discovered in the very line of his seventh Iter, to which there is not the slightest allusion in Antonine or any other writer; but of which the course is pointed out by Richard, and in that Iter only. This at least, far from being a proof of "bold conjecture," or "inventive fraud," or that he indulged his fancy in "the formation of new Itinera," is a circumstance perfectly decisive in favour of Richard's work as a book of authority.

To the general fidelity of Richard I am happy to bear unequivocal testimony. I have consulted most of the authors from whom he drew the substance of his first book, and, with the exception of two or three inadvertencies, have found him scrupulously exact in his citations. He has indeed in-

dulged himself in what a rigid critic, if he pleases, may term conjecture, when he applies the description of the Gallic customs and institutions to those of the Britons; but he has used this liberty with due caution, and in no respect has he exceeded the limits traced by the most discerning of the antients. If then we find him thus exact in those cases where we have the means of bringing his fidelity to the test, with what justice can we charge him with deception in the use of those authorities which have not reached our times?

Besides, a man who could submit to the meanness of attempting to deceive posterity, must have had some equivalent motive of action, some views of fame or reward. We may suppose that he would have arrogated peculiar merit for his investigations, that he would have concealed his authorities, or boasted of the acquisition of documents inaccessible to

others. On the contrary, he aspires only to the humble honours of a compiler; he makes no mystery of his authorities; he acknowleges that he owes all his information to the antients, and to preceding writers; he expresses the most laudable zeal for the instruction of posterity; he displays that unaffected candour, which never accompanies a conscious deception, and represents his pursuits as the innocent recreation of a vacant hour, but discountenanced and thwarted by his superior. We appeal to every candid and unprejudiced mind, whether a man in such circumstances, and with pretensions so modest, could have either the inducement or the inclination to incur the guilt of deception or forgery.

It is needless to enlarge on this point. Wherever the subject admitted of local investigation, the result has proved that the descriptions of Richard were not the creations of an idle fancy. In general, roads have

beenfound where he traces roads, and stations where he fixes stations: "and indeed," to use the words of one of our ablest local historians, "all the embodied antiquaries of the fourteenth and three succeeding centuries could not have forged so learned a detail of Roman antiquities*." If these facts tend to repel every imputation of forgery, his situation, the general ignorance of his age, of which he complains, and the state of the country and of society, indubitably prove that he could not have discovered the peculiarities which he records. From whence, then, could he have derived his information, but from authentic, though perhaps imperfect documents, which have long perished, or are now buried in oblivion?

I readily abandon to the censures of his opponents the five first chapters of his first book, in which he details the state and cus-

* Whitaker's Manchester.

toms of the British tribes. Of these there is scarcely a paragraph which is not borrowed from the classic authors still in being. But this argues no want of information in general on the part of Richard. The manners and customs which excited curiosity in the first explorers of the British isles, soon lost their novelty, or were blended with those of their conquerors and civilizers. Hence, it is evident that in describing the original state of the Britons before they were fashioned by Roman policy and Roman arts, he must have had recourse to authors who wrote prior to the complete establishment of the Romans in Britain. There is no doubt, also, that much of his chronology is derived from the same sources, with some additions from later writers, among whom we may distinguish Bede and perhaps Gildas.

I conclude with offering a few remarks on the information furnished by his map, his

geographical description in the sixth and seventh chapters of his first book, and his Itinerary, on which his claims to original information must solely rest. The most superficial view of the map will suffice to convince us of its superior accuracy, not only to the early draughts fabricated from the observations recorded by Ptolemy, but even to those of his best commentators. In the geographical description of the different tribes, our author has taken his ground-work from Ptolemy, or those from whom Ptolemy derived his information. But, if he drew his ground-work from the Ægyptian geographer, he has made such additions and changes, as show a later, more correct, and more particular knowledge of the country. He has amended a glaring error which Ptolemy committed in throwing the northern part of the island to the east, and another, in placing Ireland at too great a distance from Britain. He has also drawn up his

account of the different states in a more distinct and regular form; has mentioned a few additional tribes, omitted others, and specified some local boundaries not alluded to by other writers. He has described the division of Britain into provinces, before imperfectly known, and he is the first and only author who records the rank held by the British towns under the Roman government as Colonial, Municipal, and Stipendiary; distinctions well known in other parts of the empire, but lost in Britain till the discovery of his work.

Lastly, his Itinerary is more extensive in its design, and more complete in its execution, than that which bears the name of Antonine; correcting it when they differ, and confirming it when they agree, and containing the names of above sixty posts and towns before unknown.

The Itinerary of Antonine comprises only

113 stations, none of which are far beyond the wall of Severus:

That of Richard 176, some a considerable distance north of the wall, besides numerous chasms, which show that many names have been lost or obliterated.

The two Itineraries were evidently formed on a different plan, and perhaps in a different age; for, while Antonine throws more light on the communications in the southern part of the island, Richard is more copious in regard to those situated north of the Watling Street.

With the second Iter of Richard nothing corresponds in Antonine; the seventh and ninth are equally new; and several stations not mentioned by Antonine occur in the tenth, fifteenth, and eighteenth, as the reader will readily perceive by a referrence to the Commentary.

Having paid this slight tribute of respect to the memory of my townsman, I hasten to acknowlege my obligations, and return my thanks, for the assistance and encouragement with which I have been honoured:—

To the right rev. the Lord Bishop of Cloyne, for his remarks on the Roman roads and stations.

To the rev. Thomas Leman, for the valuable Commentary on the Itinerary, the result of his long and successful investigation of British antiquities, and for many remarks and corrections, of which I have been happy to avail myself.

To the rev. William Coxe, archdeacon of Wilts, for the original treatise, for various interesting communications, and for his kind advice and inspection during the progress of the work.

To sir Richard Colt Hoare, bart., for some information relative to the Welsh Iters.

To William Owen Pughe, esq. for his communications relative to the manners, customs, and language of the antient Britons.

In regard to the intrinsic value of this work, I beg leave to observe, that the few copies of the original edition which were sent to England have been long dispersed; and after a fruitless search to procure one in London, a similar attempt was made at Copenhagen, but with no better success. I trust therefore that in multiplying the impressions of so rare and curious a treatise I am rendering an acceptable service to the antiquary; and I flatter myself with the hope that the general reader will not consider the attention which he may bestow on these pages as totally misemployed.

The map prefixed is copied as exactly as possible from that of Bertram; a fac simile of the manuscript is given from Stukeley's Analysis of the work, and a new map is added to illustrate the account of the Roman roads and stations.

NOTICE

OF

THE LIFE AND WORKS

OF

Richard of Cirencester.

RICHARD, surnamed from his birth-place RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER, flourished from the middle to the latter end of the fourteenth century. No traces of his family or connections can be discovered; though they were at least of respectable condition, for he received an education which in his time was far beyond the attainment of the inferior ranks of society. In 1350 he entered into the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter, Westminster, during the abbacy of —— de Lytlington, as appears from the rolls of the abbey; and his name occurs in various documents of that establishment in the years 1387, 1397, and 1399.

He devoted his leisure hours to the study of British and Anglo-Saxon history and antiquities, in

which he made such proficiency that he is said to have been honoured with the name of the Historiographer. Pitts informs us, without specifying his authority, that Richard visited different libraries and ecclesiastical establishments in England in order to collect materials. It is at least certain that he obtained a license to visit Rome, from his abbot William of Colchester, in 1391; and there can be little doubt that a man of so industrious, observant, and sagacious a character profited by this journey to extend his historical and antiquarian knowledge, and to augment his collections. This license is given by Stukeley from the communication of Mr. Widmore librarian of Westminster, and bears honourable testimony to the morals and piety of our author, and his regularity in performing the discipline of his order. He probably performed this journey in the interval between 1391 and 1397, for he appears to have been confined in the abbey infirmary in 1401, and died in that or the following year. Doubtless his remains were interred in the cloisters of the abbey, but we cannot expect to find any memorial of a simple monk. We have abundant cause to regret that he was restrained in the pursuit of his favourite studies, by the authority of his abbot. In the seventh chapter of his first book he enters into a spirited justification of himself, but from the preface to his Chronology he

appears to have found it necessary to submit his better judgement to the will of his superior.

His works are

Historia ab Hengista ad ann. 1348, in two parts. The first contains the period from the coming of the Saxons to the death of Harold, and is preserved in the public library of the University of Cambridge, Ff. i. 28. Whitaker the historian of Manchester thus speaks of it:—"The hope of meeting with discoveries as great in the Roman, British, and Saxon history as he has given us concerning the preceeding period, induced me to examine the work. But my expectations were greatly disappointed. The learned scholar and the deep antiquarian, I found sunk into an ignorant novice, sometimes the copier of Huntingdon, but generally the transcriber of Geoffrey. Deprived of his Roman guides, Richard showed himself as ignorant and as injudicious as any of his illiterate contemporaries about him*."

The second part is probably a manuscript contained in the library of the Royal Society, p. 137, with the title of *Britonum Anglorum et Saxonum Historia.*

In the library of Bennet Coll. Cambridge is *Epitome Chronic. Ric. Cor. West. Lib.* I.

* Hist. of Manchester, vol. i. p. 58, 4to.

Other works of our author are supposed to be preserved in the Lambeth library, and at Oxford.

His theological writings were

Tractatus super Symbolum Majus et Minus, and *Liber de Officiis Ecclesiasticis*.—In the Peterborough Library.

But the treatise to which Richard owes his celebrity is that now presented to the reader. Its first discoverer was Charles Julius Bertram, professor of the English language in the Royal Marine Academy at Copenhagen, who transmitted to the celebrated antiquary, doctor Stukeley, a transcript of the whole in letters, together with a copy of the map. From this transcript Stukeley published an Analysis of the work, with the Itinerary, first in a thin quarto, in 1757, and afterwards in the second volume of his *Itinerarium Curiosum*. In the same year the original itself was published by professor Bertram at Copenhagen, in a small octavo volume, with the remains of Gildas and Nennius, under this title—

Britannicarum Gentium Historiæ Antiquæ Scriptores tres: Ricardus Corinensis, Gildas Badonicus, Nennius Banchorensis, &c.

Of this treatise Bertram thus speaks in his preface; "The work of Richard of Cirencester, which

came into my possession in an extraordinary manner with many other curiosities, is not entirely complete, yet its author is not to be classed with the most inconsiderable historians of the middle age. It contains many fragments of a better time, which would now in vain be sought for elsewhere; and all are useful to the antiquary * * * * *. It is considered by Dr. Stukeley, and those who have inspected it, as a jewel, and worthy to be rescued from destruction by the press. From respect for him I have caused it to be printed."

Of the map he observes: "I have added a very antient map of Roman Britain, skilfully drawn according to the accounts of the antients, which in rarity and antiquity excels the rest of the Commentary of Richard."

CORRIGENDA.

Page 34, Note 4, for (situated on the Rother,) read Lymne.

—— 42, for Note 3, as it there stands, substitute the following:—

"The Silures with their two dependant tribes, the Dimeciæ and the Ordovices, possessed all the country to the west of the Severn and the Dee, together with the island of Anglesey.

"Of these territories the Dimeciæ had the counties of Pembroke, Cardigan, and Caermarthen; while the Silures possessed all the rest of South Wales, as well as such parts of England as lay to the west of the Severn and to the South of the Teme: while the Ordovices occupied all North Wales, as well as all the country to the north of the Teme, and to the west of the Severn and the Dee, except a small tract to the West of Bangor and Penmorvay, which together with the isle of Anglesey belonged to their subordinate clan the Cangani."

Page 42, Note 4, for (Ross) read Rose or Berry Hill in Weston.

—— 69, —— 11, for Ribchester read Riechester, Northumberland.

Corrections in the Map.

The station 138 ought to be nearer Andover, and the double line from Whitchurch to Winchester erased, and the oooooooooo line between 138 and the road coming from Winchester to Cirencester to be made ═══════.

101 ought to be at Droitwitch.

Shrewsbury ought to be NW. of 18 or Wroxeter.

145 Anderida Portus or Pevensey to be inserted a little to the east of 162, as it is omitted.

Southampton inserted in the wrong place, and ought to be SW. of Bittern.

Chester placed too much to the east of the Dee.

130 or Ad Antonam "on the Avon" omitted and ought to be placed on the south side of the river about half way between Tewkobury and station 131.

Newark to be struck out and placed on the turnpike road to the north of 36.

THE ANTIENT STATE OF BRITAIN.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

I. The shore of Gaul would be the boundary of the world, did not the Island[1] of Britain claim from its magnitude almost the appellation of another world; for if measured to the Caledonian Promontory[2] it extends more than eight hundred miles in length[3].

[1] The early Greeks and Romans doubted whether Britain was an island, or part of the continent. This uncertainty gave rise to a controversy which was not settled till the time of the proprætor Julius Agricola.—*Tac. Vit. Agric. c.* 38. *Dio Cass. Hist. Rom. lib.* 39.

[2] Dunnet Head.

[3] Richard gives too great an extent to our island, which, according to the most accurate observations, stretches only from lat. 49° 48′, the most southern point, to Dunnet Head, which is in lat. 58° 40′, or scarcely 540 geographical miles.

II. Britain was first called by the antients Albion, from its *white* cliffs; and afterwards in the language of the natives, Britain[1]. Hence all the islands hereafter described were denominated British[2].

III. Britain is situated between the north and west[3], opposite to, though at some distance from, Germany, Gaul, and Spain, the most considerable parts of Europe, and is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean.

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[1] Various explanations have been given of the names of Albion and Britain, applied to our island. Some derive Albion from the white rocks which bound the coast; some from Albion a son of Neptune, who is represented as its first discoverer and cultivator: others have likewise derived the name Britain from the Phœnician or Hebrew *Baratanac*, signifying the land of *tin*. It was also called by the antients *Hyperborea*, *Atlantica*, *Cassiteris*, *Romana*, and *Thule*.

According to the British Triads, "the three names given to the Isle of Britain, from the beginning, were: before it was inhabited, the name of *Clas Merddyn* (or the green spot defended by water); after it was inhabited, *Y Vêl Ynys* (the honey island); and, after it was brought under one government by Prydain son of Aedd, it was called *Ynys Prydain* (or the isle of Britain).

In some old writings it is also termed *Yr Ynys Wen* (or the white island).

[2] This part is taken from Pliny, who enumerates the British isles in the following order.—Orcades 40; Acmodæ 7; Hæbudes 30. Between Britain and Ireland, Mona, Menapia, Ricnea, Vectis, Silimnus, Andros; beneath, Siambis, and Axuntos; on the opposite side towards the German Sea, the Glessariæ called Electrides by the later Greek writers from the amber found there; and last of all Thule.

He refers to others mentioned by different authors: viz. Mictis, Scandia, Dumnia, Bergos and Nerigos.

[3] That is, from Rome. Richard in copying the Roman writers adopted their expressions in regard to the relative positions of places.

IV. On the south of Britain lies Belgic Gaul, from which coast passengers usually sail to the Rhutupian port[1]. This place is distant from Gessoriacum[2] a town of the Morini, the port most frequented by the Britons, fifty miles, or according to others, four hundred and fifty stadia. From thence may be seen the country of the Britons, whom Virgil in his Eclogues describes as separated from the whole world,—

"— penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos."

V. By Agrippa, an antient geographer, its breadth is estimated at three hundred miles; but with more truth by Bede at two hundred, exclusive of the promontories[3]. If their sinuosities be taken into the computation, its circuit will be three thousand six hundred miles. Marcian a Greek author agrees with me in stating it at MDIↃↃLXXV[4].

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[1] Richborough, Kent. [2] Boulogne.

[3] Richard errs in supposing the estimation of Bede more accurate than that of Agrippa.

[4] The numerals are here so incorrect that it is difficult to discover what number was meant by Richard. Marcian observes that the circuit of our island is not more than 28604 stadia, or 3575 miles, nor less than 20526, or 2576 miles. Hence Bertram is led to prefer the greater number.

CHAPTER II.

I. ALBION, called by Chrysostom Great Britain, is, according to Cæsar, of a triangular shape, resembling Sicily. One of the sides lies opposite to Celtic Gaul. One angle of this side, which is the Cantian promontory[1], is situated to the east; the other, the Ocrinian promontory[2], in the country of the Damnonii, faces the south, and the province of Tarraconensis in Spain. This side is about five hundred miles in length.

II. Another side stretches towards Ireland, and the west, the length of which, according to the opinion of the ancients, is seven hundred miles.

III. The third side is situated to the north, and is opposite to no land except a few islands[3]; but the angle of this side chiefly trends towards Germania Magna[4]. The length from the Novantian Chersonesus[5], through the country of the Taixali, to the Cantian promontory[6], is estimated at eight

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[1] North Foreland. [2] Lizard Point.

[3] The Orkney and Shetland isles.

[4] Under this name the antients comprised not only Germany proper, but Denmark, Norway, &c.

[5] Rens of Galloway. [6] North Foreland.

hundred miles. Thus all erroneously compute the circuit of the island to be two thousand miles; for from the Cantian promontory to Ocrinum[1], the distance is four hundred miles; from thence to Novantum, a thousand; and from thence to the Cantian promontory, two thousand two hundred. The circuit of the whole island is therefore three thousand six hundred miles[2].

IV. Livy and Fabius Rusticus compare the form of Britain to an oblong shield or battle-axe; and as according to Tacitus it bears that figure on the side of Caledonia, the comparison was extended to the whole island, though the bold promontories at its further extremity give it the shape of a wedge. But Cæsar and Pomponius Mela assert that its form is triangular.

V. If credit may be given to the celebrated geographer Ptolemy and his contemporary writers, the island resembles an inverted Z[3]; but according

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[1] Lizard Point.

[2] Bertram has endeavoured to reconcile the various and discordant calculations given by different ancient authors of the circuit of our island. On such vague principles as these estimations are made, it would be almost impossible, even now, for two persons to produce the same result.

[3] Ptolemy's expression is obscure: but he was evidently led to this supposition by the notion that Caledonia or Scotland trended to the east, as appears from his latitudes and longitudes. This form, therefore, he

to the maps the comparison is not exact. The triangular shape, however, seems to belong to England alone[1].

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not unaptly compares to the inverted Z. It would be a trespass on the patience of the reader to attempt to reconcile what is irreconcilable.

[1] These words are chiefly taken from Tacitus. The obscurity of the expression, and the absurdity of the comparison, will sufficiently show the ignorance of those antients whose works have reached the present time, in regard to our island.—*Tucit. Vit. Agricolæ, sect.* 10.

CHAPTER III.

I. The original inhabitants of Britain, whether indigenous or foreign, are, like those of most other countries, unknown. The Jews alone, and by their means the contiguous nations, have the happiness of tracing their descent since the creation of the world from undoubted documents.

II. From the difference of personal appearance different conjectures have been drawn. The red hair and large limbs of the Caledonians proclaim their German origin; the painted faces and curled locks of the Silures, and their situation opposite to Spain, corroborate the assertion of Tacitus, that the antient Iberians passed over, and occupied this country and Ireland. Those who live nearest the Gauls resemble them, either from the strength of the original stock, or from the effects which the same positions of the heavens produce on the human body.

III. If I were inclined to indulge a conjecture, I might here mention that the Veneti[1] in their com-

[1] The Veneti, a tribe seated on the coast of Armorica or Bretagne; distinguished for their maritime power, and with whom Cæsar waged war. Their territory, according to his description, was part of Celtic Gaul, and the present Vaănes was their capital.

mercial expeditions first introduced inhabitants and religion into this country. Writers are not wanting, who assert that Hercules came hither and established a sovereignty. But it is needless to dwell on such remote antiquities and idle tales [1].

IV. On the whole, however, it is probable that the Gauls occupied the contiguous regions. According to Tacitus their sacred rites and superstitions may be traced; nor is the language very different; and lastly the tradition of the druids,

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[1] To these conjectures relative to the original inhabitants, and subsequent colonists of Britain, it may not be uninteresting to add the accounts preserved in the Welsh Triads.

The historical Triads record that the first colonists of Britain were *Cymry* who originally came from *Defrobani Gwlad Yr Hav*, the summer land, or Tauric Chersonesus. There they have left many traces of their name preserved by antient authors, among which we may instance the *Cimmerian* Bosphorus.

Subsequent colonists arrived from the neighbouring continent at various times. The *Loegrwys* (Loegrians) from Gascogne; the *Brython* from *Lydaw* (Britanny), who were descended from the original stock of the *Cymry*. Two descents are also mentioned in Alban, or North Britain; one called the tribe of *Celyddon*, the other the primitive *Gwyddelians*. Another descent is said to have been made in the south, in *Ynys Wyth*, or the isle of Wight, by the men of *Galedin* (the Belgæ), when their native country was inundated. Another colony called the *Corani* came from the country of the *Pwyl*, and settled on the sea coast, about the river Humber. A descent in Alban, or North Britain, of a colony of *Gwyddelian Fiçti*, who are described as coming from the sea of *Loçlyn* (the Baltic); and a partial settlement of the men of *Loçlyn* (Scandinavians), who were expelled after remaining for three generations.

The arrival of the Romans and Saxons is also mentioned, as well as some partial settlements of the Gwyddelians from Ireland.

with the names of the states which still retain the same appellations as the people sprung from the cities of Gaul, who came hither and began to cultivate the country[1].

V. According to Cæsar the country was extremely populous, and contained numerous buildings, not dissimilar to those of the Gauls. It was rich in cattle.

VI. The inhabitants of the southern part were the most civilized, and in their customs differed little from the Gauls. Those of the more distant parts did not raise corn; but lived on fruits and flesh. They were ignorant of the use of wool and garments, although in severe weather they covered themselves with the skins of sheep or deer. They were accustomed to bathe in the rivers.

VII. All the Britons formerly stained their bodies of a blue colour, which according to Cæsar gave them a more terrible appearance in battle. They wore their hair long, and shaved all parts of the body except the head and the upper lip.

VIII. Ten or twelve Britons had their wives in

[1] We discover a few cities in Gaul, bearing nearly the same appellations as those of Britain; and in both countries we find the Atrebates, the Morini, the Ædui, the Senones, the Menapii, and the Rhemi.

common; and this custom particularly prevailed among brethren, and between fathers and sons; but the children were considered as belonging to him who had first taken the virgin to wife. The mothers suckled their own children, and did not employ maids and nurses.

IX. According to Cæsar also they used brass money, and iron rings of a certain weight instead of coin [1].

X. The Britons deemed it unlawful to eat hares [2], fowls, or geese; but they kept those animals for pleasure.

XI. They had pearls, bits made of ivory, bracelets, vessels of amber and glass, agates, and, what surpasses all, great abundance of tin.

XII. They navigated in barks, the keels and ribs of which were formed of light materials; the other parts were made of wicker and covered with

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[1] The natives of China and Japan follow a similar custom in regard to gold and silver, which are not coined, but pass according to weight.

[2] It seems that they considered the appearance of a hare a fortunate omen; for the Roman historians observe that Boadicea, after haranguing her troops, let loose a hare which she had concealed in her garments.

the hides of oxen[1]. During their voyages, as Solinus asserts, they abstain from food[2].

On the Military Affairs of the Britons.

XIII. Britain produces people and kings of people, as Pomponius Mela writes in his third book; but they are all uncivilized, and in proportion as they are more distant from the continent, are more ignorant of riches; their wealth consisting chiefly in cattle and land. They are addicted to litigation and war, and frequently attack each other, from a desire of command, and of enlarging their possessions. It is customary indeed for the Britons to wage war under the guidance of women, and not to regard the difference of sex in the distribution of power.

XIV. The Britons not only fought on foot and on horseback, but in chariots drawn by two horses, and armed in the Gallic manner. Those chariots, to the axle-trees of which scythes were fixed, were called *covini*, or wains.

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[1] This species of boat is still used on the Welsh rivers, and is called a coricle in English, and *cwm* in Welsh. It is so light that a man may carry one on his back.

[2] Richard has mistaken the sense of Solinus, who, in describing the passage from Great Britain to Ireland, observes that from its shortness they abstained from food. "Navigantes escis abstinent, pro freti latitudine." C. 25.

XV. Cæsar relates that they employed cavalry in their wars, which before the coming of the Romans were almost perpetual. All were skilled in war; each in proportion to his family and wealth supported a number of retainers, and this was the only species of honour with which they were acquainted [1].

XVI. The principal strength of the Britons was in their infantry, who fought with darts, large swords, and short targets. According to Tacitus their swords were blunt at the point.

XVII. Cæsar in his fourth book thus describes their mode of fighting in that species of chariots called *essedæ* [2]. At first they drove through the army in all directions, hurling their darts; and, by

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[1] In all periods the Britons seem to have been divided into numerous petty communities or states, headed by chiefs, who are here dignified with the title of kings. From the jealousies and weakness attending such a state of society, the island first became a prey to the Romans, and afterwards to the Saxons; and when the Britons had retired to the mountains of Wales, the same causes hastened the annexation of their country to England.

[2] In the early ages chariots were universally used in war. In the Scriptures they are frequently mentioned as forming the principal strength of an army; and the mode of fighting in chariots among the Greeks and Trojans, according to the description of Homer, was exactly similar to that of the Britons. The steeds of his heroes were

> "Practis'd alike to stop, to turn, to chase,
> To dare the shock, or urge the rapid race."

His warriors sometimes drive through the ranks of the enemy, some-

the terror of the horses, and the noise of the wheels, generally threw the ranks of the enemy into disorder. When they had penetrated between the troops of cavalry, they leaped from their chariots, and waged unequal war on foot. Meanwhile the chariots were drawn up at a distance from the battle, and placed in such a position that if pressed by the enemy, the warriors could effect a retreat to their own army. They thus displayed the rapid evolutions of cavalry and the firmness of infantry, and were so expert by exercise, as to hold up the horses in steep descents, to check and turn them suddenly at full speed, to run along the pole, stand on the yoke, and then spring into the chariot.

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times fight from their chariots, and sometimes alight and maintain the combat on foot, while their chariots retire to the rear,

> "This counsel pleas'd, the godlike Hector sprung
> Swift from his seat; his clanging armour rung.
> The chief's example follow'd by his train,
> Each quits his car and issues on the plain;
> By orders strict the charioteers enjoin'd
> Compel the coursers to their ranks behind."

The Britons, however, appear to have devised an improvement in this mode of warfare, which was unknown to the Greeks. Their chariots seem to have been of two kinds, the *covini* or wains, heavy and armed with scythes, to break the thickest order of the enemy; and the *essedæ*, a lighter kind, adapted probably to situations and circumstances in which the *covini* could not act, and occasionally performing the duties of cavalry. The *essedæ*, with the cavalry, were pushed forward to oppose the first landing of Cæsar; and Cassivellaunus afterwards left 4000 *essedæ* as a corps of observation to watch his movements. —*Cæsar. Comment. lib.* 5. § 15.

XVIII. The mode of fighting on horseback threatened equal danger to those who gave way, or those who pursued. They never engaged in close lines, but in scattered bodies, and with great intervals; they had their appointed stations, and relieved each other by turns; and fresh combatants succeeded those who were fatigued. The cavalry also used darts.

XIX. It is not easy to determine the form of government in Britain previous to the coming of the Romans. It is however certain that before their times there was no vestige of a monarchy, but rather of a democracy, unless perhaps it may seem to have resembled an aristocracy[1]. The authority of the druids in affairs of the greatest moment was considerable. Some chiefs are commemorated in their antient records, yet these appear to have possessed no permanent power; but to have

[1] The government of the antient Britons may be denominated patriarchal. Each community was governed by its elders; and every individual who could not prove his kindred to some community, through nine descents, and the same number of collateral affinities, was not considered as a freeman. Beyond this degree of kindred, they were formed into new communities. The elders of the different communities were subordinate to the elders of the tribes. But in times of public danger, as is recorded in the Triads, some chief of distinguished abilities was intrusted with the supreme authority over the tribes or communities, who united in common defence.—Such were Caswallon (Cassivellaunus), Caradwg (Caractacus), and Owain, son of Maesen.

been created, like the Roman dictators, in times of imminent danger. Nor are instances wanting among them, as among other brave nations, when they chose even the leader of their adversaries to conduct their armies. He, therefore, who before was their enemy, afterwards fought on their side.

XX. The Britons exceeded in stature both the Gauls and the Romans. Strabo affirms that he saw at Rome some British youths, who were considerably taller than the Romans.

XXI. The more wealthy inhabitants of South Britain were accustomed to ornament the middle finger of the left hand with a gold ring; but a gold collar[1] round the neck was the distinguishing

[1] This *torques*, chain, or rather wreath, is frequently alluded to by the early British bards.

"Yet in the battle of Arderydd I wore the *golden torques*."
Merddin Avellanaw.

"Four and twenty sons I have had
Wearing the *golden wreath*, leaders of armies."
Llywarch Hén.

"Of all who went to Cattraeth, wearing the *golden torc or wreath*."
Aneurin.

The same bard states that in the battle of Cattraeth were three hundred and sixty who wore the *golden torques*.

We give a description of one of these ornaments found near the castle of Harlech, in Merionethshire, in 1692. "It is a wreathed bar of gold, or perhaps three or four rods jointly twisted, about four feet long, but naturally bending only one way, in the form of a hat-band. It is hooked at both ends. It is of a round form, about an

mark of eminence. Those of the northern regions, who were the indigenous inhabitants of the island from time immemorial, were almost wholly ignorant of the use of clothes, and surrounded their waists and necks, as Herodian reports, with iron rings, which they considered as ornaments and proofs of wealth. They carried a narrow shield, fitter for use than ornament, and a lance, with a sword pendent from their naked and painted bodies. They rejected or despised the breast plate and helmet, because such armour impeded their passage through the marshes.

XXII. Among other particulars, this custom prevailed in Britain. They stopped travellers and merchants, and compelled them to relate what they had heard, or knew, worthy of notice. The common people usually surrounded foreign merchants in the towns, and obliged them to tell from whence they came, and what curious things they had observed. On such vague reports they often rashly acted, and thus were generally deceived; for many

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inch in circumference, and weighs eight ounces."—*Gibson's Camden, p.* 658.

Another mark of dignity was a string of amber beads worn round the head. To this Aneurin alludes—

"With wreaths of *amber* twined round his temples."

These beads have been frequently found in tumuli, particularly in those on Salisbury plain.—See *Turner's Vindication of the Welsh Bards:* —*Owen's Elegies of Llywarch Hen.*

answered them agreeably to their desires with fictitious stories[1].

XXIII. Their interments were magnificent; and all things which they prized during life, even arms and animals, were thrown into the funeral pile. A heap of earth and turf formed the sepulchre[2].

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[1] This is Cæsar's account of a Gallic custom; but it is applied, not without reason, to the Britons; and indeed is equally applicable to all uncivilized people.

[2] As the classic authors have left us no description of the modes of interment among the Britons, Richard was induced, by the conformity of their manners and customs to those of the Gauls, to adopt the words used by Cæsar in his account of the Gallic funerals. Unfortunately the remains of the British bards afford little assistance in supplying this deficiency. It appears however that the Britons raised tumuli over their dead, and continued the practice till after the introduction of Christianity; and that their other modes of interment were the *carned*, or heap of stones; the *cistvaen*, or stone chest, and perhaps the *cromleç*, or hanging stone. From a curious fragment commemorating the graves of the British warriors, which is printed in the first volume of the Welsh Archæology, we learn further, that they buried their dead on the tops of hills and lofty cliffs, on declivities, in heaths and secluded valleys, on the banks and near the fords of rivers, and on the sea-shore "where the ninth wave breaks." Allusions are also made to corresponding stones raised on these graves; and it is said, "the *long* graves in Gwanas no one knows to whom they belong nor what is their history."

As the modes of interment among all early nations were in many respects similar, there is perhaps no part of our national antiquities which has given scope to so much conjecture as this. The reader who is desirous of more particular information relative to this subject, may at least find amusement in consulting the works of Stukeley, Douglas's Nenia Britannica, the Archæologia, and various accounts scattered in different periodical publications.

CHAPTER IV.

I. ALL the Britons, like the Gauls, were much addicted to superstitious ceremonies; and those who laboured under severe disorders, or were exposed to the dangers of war, either offered human victims, or made a vow to perform such a sacrifice.

II. The druids were employed in the performance of these cruel rites; and they believed that the gods could not be appeased unless the life of a man was ransomed with human blood. Hence arose the public institution of such sacrifices; and those who had been surprised in theft, robbery, or any other delinquency, were considered as the most acceptable victims. But when criminals could not be obtained, even the innocent were put to death, that the gods might be appeased.

III. The sacred ceremonies could not be performed except in the presence of the druids; and on them devolved the office of providing for the public as well as private rites. They were the guardians of religion and the interpreters of mysteries; and being skilled in medicine were consulted for the preservation or restoration of health.

IV. Among their gods, the principal object of their worship was Mercury[1]. Next to him they adored Justice (under the name of Astarte), then Apollo, and Mars (who was called Vitucadrus), Jupiter, Minerva, Hercules, Victory (called Andate), Diana, Cybele, and Pluto. Of these deities they held the same opinions as other nations.

V. The Britons, like the Gauls, endeavoured to derive their origin from Dis or Pluto, boasting of this antient tradition of the druids. For this reason they divided time, not by the number of days, but of nights, and thus distinguished the commencement of the month, and the time of their birth. This custom agrees with the antient mode of computation adopted in Genesis, chapter i.[2]

VI. The druids being held in high veneration were greatly followed by the young men for the sake of their instructions. They decided almost

[1] This passage has puzzled the British antiquaries, because it militates against the grand principle of the druidic theology, and because, as they assert, no traces of the Greek or Roman deities are found among the early Britons. Possibly some of the British tribes might have brought this mode of worship from Gaul; but more probably the assertion was derived from the misconception of the antient authors themselves, who gave the names of their own deities to the objects of adoration distinguished by similar attributes in other countries. The account is borrowed from Cæsar's description of the Gauls, lib. vi. § 15.

[2] "And the *evening* and the morning were the first day," &c. ver. 5. We also still say a se'en*night*, a fort*night*.

all public and private controversies, and determined disputes relative to inheritance or the boundaries of lands. They decreed rewards and punishments, and enforced their decisions by an exclusion from the sacrifices. This exclusion was deemed the severest punishment; because the interdicted, being deemed impious and wicked, were shunned as if contagious; justice was refused to their supplications, and they were allowed no marks of honour [1].

VII. Over the druids presided a chief, vested with supreme authority. At his death he was succeeded by the next in dignity; but if there were several of equal rank, the contest was decided by the suffrages of their body; and sometimes they even contended in arms for this honour [2].

VIII. The druids went not to war, paid no tribute like the rest of the people, were exempted from military duties, and enjoyed immunities in all things. From these high privileges many either

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[1] Like the excommunication of the catholic church.

[2] Such a custom would contravene the principles of the druidic or bardic system, which prohibited them from using arms. The remark seems to have been extended to a general application by Richard, from a single instance recorded by Cæsar, of a druidic election in Gaul thus decided.

voluntarily entered into their order, or were placed in it by friends or parents.

IX. They learnt a number of verses, which were the only kind of memorials or annals in use among them[1]. Some persons accordingly remained twenty years under their instruction, which they

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[1] According to the opinion of the Welsh antiquaries, the system of druidical knowledge forms the basis of the Triads. If this be the case, it must be confessed that the bards possessed a profound knowledge of human nature, uncommon critical sagacity, and a perfect acquaintance with the harmony of language and the properties of metre. For example, the subjects of the poetical Triads are,

The Welsh language.
Fancy and invention.
The design of poetry.
Nature of just thinking.
Rules of arrangement.
Rules of description.
Variety of matter and invention.
Rules of composition; comprising the laws of verse, rhyme, stanzas, consonancy or alliteration, and accent.

We quote a few of these Triads to show their nature and structure.

The three qualifications of poetry;—endowment of genius, judgement from experience, and happiness of mind.

The three foundations of judgement;—bold design, frequent practice, and frequent mistakes.

The three foundations of learning;—seeing much, suffering much, and studying much.

The three foundations of happiness;—a suffering with contentment, a hope that it will come, and a belief that it will be.

The three foundations of thought;—perspicuity, amplitude, and justness.

The three canons of perspicuity;—the word that is necessary, the quantity that is necessary, and the manner that is necessary.

The three canons of amplitude;—appropriate thought, variety of thought, and requisite thought.

did not deem it lawful to commit to writing, though on other subjects they employed the Greek alphabet. "This custom," to use the words of Julius Cæsar, "seems to have been adopted for two reasons; first, not to expose their doctrines to the common people; and, secondly, lest their scholars, trusting to letters, should be less anxious to remember their precepts; for such assistance commonly diminishes application, and weakens the memory."

X. In the first place they circulated the doctrine that souls do not die, but migrate into other bodies [1]. By this principle they hoped men would be more powerfully actuated to virtue, and delivered from the fear of death. They likewise instructed students in the knowledge of the heavenly bodies,

[1] According to the Triads, the theology of the bards was pure monotheism. They taught also the transmigration of souls; believing that the soul passed by death through all the gradations of animal life, from Anoom the bottomless abyss, or lowest degree of animation, up to the highest degree of spiritual existence next to the Supreme Being. Human nature was considered as the middle point of this scale. As this was a state of liberty, in which the soul could attach itself to either good or evil, if evil predominated, it was after death obliged to retrace its former transmigrations from a point in the animal creation equal to its turpitude, and it again and again became man till it was attached to good. Above humanity, though it might again animate the body of man, it was incapable of relapse, but continued progressively rising to a degree of goodness and happiness, inferior only to the Deity.

It is remarkable that many singular points of coincidence have been discovered in comparing the religious system of the Hindoos with that of the antient Britons; and in the languages of these two people some striking similarities occur in those proverbs and forms of expression which are derived from national customs and religious ceremonies.

in geography, the nature of things, and the power of the gods[1].

XI. Their admiration of the misselto must not be omitted. The druids esteemed nothing more sacred than the misselto, and the tree on which it grew, if an oak. They particularly delighted in groves of oaks[2], and performed no sacred rite without branches of that tree, and hence seem to have derived their name of druids, Δρυιδες. Whatever grew on an oak was considered as sent from Heaven, and as a sign that the tree was chosen by God himself. The misselto was difficult to be found, and when discovered was gathered with religious ceremonies, particularly at the sixth day of the moon (from which period they dated their months and years, and their cycle of thirty years), because the moon was supposed to possess extraordinary powers when she had not completed her second quarter. The misselto was called in their language *all heal*[3]. The sacrifice and the feast being duly prepared under the tree, they led thither two white bulls, whose horns were then bound for the first

[1] This account of the druids, like some of the preceding paragraphs, is borrowed from Cæsar's description of the Gauls.

[2] Gen. ch. xxi. ver. 33.

[3] This remark is erroneous. The term *holbiaç, all heal,* is applied to the plant which bears the same name in English. The misselto is called in Welsh by the several appellations, Gurgon, Uçelvan, Prenawyn, Uçelwydd.

time[1]. The priest, clothed in a white vestment, ascending the tree, cut off the misselto with a golden bill, and received it in a white cloth. They then slew the victims, invoking the favour of the Deity on their offering. They conceived that the misselto cured sterility in animals; and considered it as a specific against all poisons. So great was the superstition generally prevailing among nations with respect to frivolous objects.

XII. The doctrine of the druids is said to have been first invented in Britain, and from thence carried into Gaul; on which account Pliny says (in his thirtieth book), "But why should I commemorate these things with regard to an art which has passed over the sea, and reached the bounds of nature? Britain even at this time celebrates it with so many wonderful ceremonies, that she seems to have taught it to the Persians." Julius Cæsar affirms the same in his Commentaries, "And now those persons who wish to acquire a more extensive know-

[1] As the plough was fastened to the horns of the beasts, this expression signifies that the animal had never been employed in labour.

It is a singular coincidence of circumstances that bulls perfectly white were sacrificed by the Ægyptians to Apis. When such an animal was found unblemished, and without a single black hair, the priest tied a fillet about his horns, and sealed it with the signet of his ring; it being a capital crime to sacrifice one of these animals except it was thus marked. *Herodotus.*

ledge of such things, repair to Britain for information."

XIII. At a certain time of the year the druids retired to a consecrated grove in the island of Mona, whither all persons among whom controversies had arisen, repaired for the decision of their disputes.

XIV. Besides the druids, there were among the Gauls and Britons poets called bards [1], who sung in heroic measures the deeds of the gods and heroes, accompanied with the sweet notes of the lyre.

XV. Concerning the druids and bards, I shall conclude this chapter in the words of Lucan:—

Vos quoque, qui fortes animas, bellóque peremptas
Laudibus in longum, vates! dimittitis ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina bardi.
Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremque sinistrum
Sacrorum, druidæ, positis repetistis ab armis.
Solis nosse Deos, et cœli numina vobis,
Aut solis nescire datum: nemora alta remotis

[1] According to the Welsh antiquaries, these distinctions are erroneous. The druidical, or rather bardic, system consisted of three classes: the bard proper, whose province was philosophy and poetry; the druid, or minister of religion; and the ovate, or mechanic and artist. For a curious account of the bardic system and institutions, the reader is referred to the Introduction to Owen's Translations of the Elegies of Llywarch Hèn.

Incolitis lucis. Vobis authoribus, umbræ
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt; regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio: longæ, canitis (si cognita) vitæ
Mors media est. Certe populi, quos despicit Arctos
Felices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maxumus, haud urget Lethi metus: inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis; et ignavum redituræ parcere vitæ.

Lucan. Phars. l. i.

You too, ye bards! whom sacred raptures fire,
To chant your heroes to your country's lyre;
Who consecrate, in your immortal strain,
Brave patriot souls, in righteous battle slain,
Securely now the tuneful task renew,
And noblest themes in deathless songs pursue.
The druids now, while arms are heard no more,
Old mysteries and barbarous rites restore,
A tribe who singular religion love,
And haunt the lonely coverts of the grove.
To these, and these of all mankind alone,
The gods are sure revealed or sure unknown.
If dying mortals' doom they sing aright,
No ghosts descend to dwell in dreadful night:
No parting souls to grisly Pluto go,
Nor seek the dreary silent shades below;
But forth they fly immortal in their kind,
And other bodies in new worlds they find:
Thus life for ever runs its endless race,
And like a line death but divides the space,
A stop which can but for a moment last,
A point between the future and the past.

Thrice happy they beneath their northern skies,
Who that worst fear—the fear of death—despise;
Hence they no cares for this frail being feel,
But rush undaunted on the pointed steel;
Provoke approaching fate, and bravely scorn
To spare that life which must so soon return.

Rowe's Lucan, book i.

CHAPTER V.

I. This island is rich in corn and wood, is well adapted for the maintenance of flocks and cattle, and in some places produces vines. It also abounds with marine and land birds, and contains copious springs, and numerous rivers, stored with fish, and plentifully supplied with salmon and eels.

II. Sea-cows, or seals[1], and dolphins are caught, and whales, of which mention is made by the satirist:

"Quanto delphinis ballena Britannica major."

III. There are besides several sorts of shell fish, among which are muscles, containing pearls often of the best kind, and of every colour: that is, red, purple, violet, green, (*prasini*), but principally white, as we find in the venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History.

IV. Shells[2] are still more abundant, from which

[1] We do not find that Pennant mentions, among the amphibious animals, the *Vituli Marini*, by which Richard probably meant seals.

[2] Richard calls these shells *Cochleæ*, or snails, though he probably alludes to the species styled by naturalists *Murex*, which contained the

is prepared a scarlet dye of the most beautiful hue, which never fades from the effect of the sun or rain, but becomes finer as it grows older.

V. In Britain are salt and warm springs, from which are formed hot baths, suited to all ages, with distinct places for the two sexes[1].

VI. White lead is found in the midland regions, and iron in the maritime, but in small quantities: gold and silver are also produced, but brass is imported. Jet of the purest quality abounds; it is of a shining black, and highly inflammable[2]. When burnt it drives away serpents, and when warmed by friction attracts bodies like amber.

VII. Britain being situated almost under the north pole, the nights are so light in summer, that it is often doubtful whether the evening or morning twilight prevails; because the sun, in returning to the east, does not long remain below the hori-

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famous Tyrian purple, so much valued by the antients. Yet, whatever our island may have formerly produced, we discern no traces, in later ages, of any testaceous animal yielding a purple or scarlet dye.

[1] Richard here doubtless principally alludes to Bath, the Aquæ Solis of the antients.

[2] This substance appears to have been wrought into ornaments for the person. In the barrows, jet beads of a long elliptical form were found, together with others of amber, and a coarse blue glass.

zon. Hence, also, according to Cleomenes, the longest day in summer, and the longest night in winter, when the sun declines towards the south, is eighteen hours; and the shortest night in summer, and day in winter, is six hours. In the same manner as in Armenia, Macedon, Italy, and the regions under the same parallel, the longest day is fifteen, and the shortest nine hours.

VIII. But I have given a sufficient account of Britain and the Britons in general. I shall now descend to particulars; and, in the succeeding pages, shall describe the state and revolutions of the different nations who inhabited this island, the cities which ennobled it, with other particulars, and their condition under the Roman dominion.

CHAPTER VI.

I. BRITAIN, according to the most accurate and authentic accounts of the antients, was divided into seven parts, six of which were at different times subjected to the Roman empire, and the seventh held by the uncivilized Caledonians.

II. These divisions were called Britannia Prima; Secunda; Flavia; Maxima; Valentia, and Vespasiana, which last did not long remain under the power of the Romans. Britannia Prima is separated by the river Thamesis from Flavia, and by the sea[1] from Britannia Secunda. Flavia begins from the German ocean, is bounded by the Thamesis[2], by the Sabrina[3] on the side of the Silures and Ordovices, and trends toward the north and the region of the Brigantes[4]. Maxima, beginning at the extreme boundary of Flavia, reaches to the wall[5] which traverses the whole

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[1] Rather by the æstuary of the Severn.

[2] Thames. [3] Severn.

[4] Here some word is evidently omitted in the original. We would supply it by comparing this description with that of Britannia Secunda in the second section, and read "*Sabrina et Deva*," &c., "by the Severn and the Dee from the Silures and Ordovices."

[5] The wall or vallum erected by Severus between the Solway frith and the mouth of the Tyne.

island, and faces the north. Valentia occupies the whole space between this wall and that built by the emperor Antoninus Pius, from the æstuary of the Bdora[1] to that of the Clydda[2]. Vespasiana stretches from the æstuary of the Bdora to the city of Alcuith[3], from whence a line drawn to the mouth of the Varar[4] shows the boundary. Britannia Secunda faces the Irish sea to the north and west. But sufficient notice has been taken of the provinces.

III. Before we proceed to a more minute description, let us touch upon the form of government. In remote times all Britain was divided among petty princes and states, some of whom are said to have existed after the country was occupied by the Romans; though under the Roman domination they retained scarcely the shadow of regal authority. A legate being appointed by the emperor over the conquered countries, Britain became a proconsular province. This form of government continued several ages, although in the mean time the island underwent many divisions, first into the Upper and Lower districts, and then, as we have before shown, into seven parts. It afterwards became the imperial residence of Carausius and those whom he admitted to a share of his power. Constantine the Great,

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[1] Bodora and Bodotria, Frith of Forth.
[2] Clotta. Clyde. [3] Dumbarton. [4] Murray frith.

the glory and defence of Christianity, is supposed to have raised Maxima and Valentia to consular provinces, and Prima, Secunda, and Flavia, to præsidials. But over the whole island was appointed a deputy governor, under the authority of the prætorian prefect of Gaul. Besides whom, an antient volume, written about that period, mentions a person of great dignity, by the title of *comes* or count of the Britons, another as count of the Saxon coast, and a third as leader or duke of Britain; with many others, who, although possessed of great offices, must be passed over in silence, for want of certain information[1].

IV. I now commence my long journey, to examine minutely the whole island and its particular parts, and shall follow the footsteps of the best authors. I begin with the extreme part of the first province, whose coasts are opposite Gaul. This province contains three celebrated and powerful states, namely Cantium, Belgium, and Damnonium, each of which in particular I shall carefully examine.

First of Cantium.

V. Cantium[2], situated at the eastern extremity of

[1] These remarks seem to have been drawn from the Notitia Imperii; and consequently refer to a late period of the empire.

[2] Cantium contained the present county of Kent, as far as the Rother, except a small district in which Holwood Hill is situated, and which belonged to the Rhemi.

Britannia Prima, was inhabited by the Cantii, and contains the cities of Durobrobis[1] and Cantiopolis[2], which was the metropolis, and the burial-place of St. Augustin, the apostle of the English; Dubræ[3], Lemanus[4], and Regulbium[5], garrisoned by the Romans; also their primary station Rhutupis[6], which was colonised and became the metropolis, and where a haven was formed capable of containing the Roman fleet which commanded the North Sea. This city was of such celebrity that it gave the name of Rhutupine to the neighbouring shores; of which Lucan,

"Aut vagæ cum Thetis Rhutupinaque littora fervent."

From hence oysters of a large size and superior flavour were sent to Rome, as Juvenal observes,

"——————— Circæis nata forent, an
Lucrinum ad saxum, RHUTUPINOVE edita fundo
Ostrea, calleat primo deprendere morsu."

It was the station of the second Augustan legion, under the count of the Saxon coast, a person of high distinction.

VI. The kingdom of Cantium is watered by many rivers. The principal are Madus[7], Sturius[8], Du-

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[1] Rochester.
[2] Canterbury.
[3] Dover.
[4] Situated on the Rother.
[5] Reculver.
[6] Richborough.
[7] The Medway.
[8] The Stour.

bris[1], and Lemanus[2], which last separates the Cantii from the Bibroci.

VII. Among the three principal promontories of Britain, that which derives its name from Cantium[3] is most distinguished. There the ocean, being confined in an angle, according to the tradition of the antients, gradually forced its way, and formed the strait which renders Britain an island.

VIII. The vast forest called by some the Anderidan, and by others the Caledonian, stretches from Cantium an hundred and fifty miles, through the countries of the Bibroci and the Segontiaci, to the confines of the Hedui. It is thus mentioned by the poet Lucan:—

"Unde Caledoniis fallit turbata Britannos."

IX. The Bibroci[4] were situated next to the Cantii, and, as some imagine, were subject to them. They were also called Rhemi, and are not unknown in record. They inhabited Bibrocum[5], Regentium[6],

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[1] The rivulet which falls into the sea at Dover.

[2] The Rother. [3] The North Foreland.

[4] The Bibroci, Rhemi, or Regni, inhabited part of Hants, and of Berks, Sussex, Surry, and a small portion of Kent.

[5] Uncertain. Stukeley calls it Bibrox, Bibrax, or the Bibracte of the Itinerary. [6] Chichester.

and Noviomagus[1], which was their metropolis. The Romans held Anderida[2].

X. On their confines, and bordering on the Thames, dwelt the Attrebates[3], whose primary city was Calleba[4].

XI. Below them, nearer the river Kunetius[5], lived the Segontiaci[6], whose chief city was Vindonum[7].

XII. Below towards the ocean, and bordering on the Bibroci, lived the Belgæ[8], whose chief cities were Clausentum[9], now called Southampton; Portus Magnus[10]; Venta[11], a noble city situated upon the river Antona. Sorbiodunum[12] was garrisoned

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[1] Holwood Hill. [2] Pevensey.

[3] The country of the Attrebates comprised the north-east part of Hants, and south and north-east part of Berks.

[4] Silchester. For the proofs that this place was the site of Calleva, see the Commentary on the Itinerary.

[5] Kennet.

[6] The Segontiaci inhabited the north-west part of Hants, and a part of Berks on the south-west.

[7] Probably Egbury Camp, near St. Mary Bourn, fifteen miles from Old Sarum.—See Commentary.

[8] The Belgæ occupied those parts of Hants and Wilts not held by the Segontiaci.

[9] This is an error: the antient Clausentum was at Bittern, on the Itchin, opposite Northam. [10] Portchester.

[11] Winchester. [12] Old Sarum.

by the Romans. All the Belgæ are Allobroges, or foreigners, and derived their origin from the Belgæ and Celts. The latter, not many ages before the arrival of Cæsar, quitted their native country, Gaul, which was conquered by the Romans and Germans, and passed over to this island: the former, after crossing the Rhine, and occupying the conquered country, likewise sent out colonies, of which Cæsar has spoken more at large[1].

XIII. All the regions south of the Thamesis[2] were, according to antient records, occupied by the warlike nation of the Senones. These people, under the guidance of their renowned king Brennus, penetrated through Gaul, forced a passage over the Alps, hitherto deemed impracticable, and would have razed proud Rome, had not the Fates, which seemed like to carry the Republic in their bosom, till it reached its destined height of glory, averted the threatened calamity. By the cackle of a goose Manlius was warned of the danger, and hurled the barbarians from the Capitol, in their midnight attack. The same protecting influence afterwards sent Camillus to his assistance, who, by assailing them in the rear, quenched the conflagration which they had

[1] This passage as printed in the original is very obscure; but the meaning is supplied by Cæsar, from whom it is taken, and a subsequent page where Richard mentions the same fact.—*Vide the Chronology in b. 2, c. i. sect. 9.*

[2] Thames.

kindled, in Senonic blood, and preserved the city from impending destruction. In consequence of this vast expedition, the land of the Senones[1] being left without inhabitants, and full of spoils, was occupied by the abovementioned Belgæ.

XIV. Near the Sabrina and below the Thamesis lived the Hedui[2], whose principal cities were Ischalis[3] and Avalonia[4]. The Baths[5], which were also called Aquæ Solis, were made the seat of a colony, and became the perpetual residence of the Romans who possessed this part of Britain. This was a celebrated city, situated upon the river Abona, remarkable for its hot springs, which were formed into baths at a great expense. Apollo and Minerva[6] were the tutelary deities, in whose temples the perpetual fire never fell into ashes, but as it wasted away it turned into globes of stone.

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[1] There was a tribe of Celts called Senones seated on the banks of the Seine as late as the time of Cæsar, and this was one of the tribes who marched with Brennus against Rome. But we cannot discover from whence Richard drew his information that these Senones originally emigrated from Britain, leaving their country to be occupied by the Belgæ.

[2] They inhabited all Somersetshire except the south-west corner, and perhaps a part on the south of Glocestershire.

[3] Ilchester. [4] Glastonbury.

[5] Bath.

[6] This is drawn from Solinus, who speaks of Britain in general. We know not on what authority it was applied by Richard to Bath.

XV. Below the Hedui are situated the Durotriges, who are sometimes called Morini. Their metropolis was Durinum[1], and their territory extended to the promontory Vindelia[2]. In their country the land is gradually contracted, and seems to form an immense arm which repels the waves of the ocean.

XVI. In this arm was the region of the Cimbri[3], whose country was divided from that of the Hedui by the river Uxella[4]. It is not ascertained whether the Cimbri gave to Wales its modern name, or whether their origin is more remote. Their chief cities were Termolus[5] and Artavia[6]. From hence, according to the antients, are seen the pillars of Hercules, and the island Herculea[7] not far distant. From the Uxella a chain of mountains called Ocrinum extends to the promontory known by the same name.

XVII. Beyond the Cimbri the Carnabii inhabit-

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[1] Maiden Castle near Dorchester, which last was the Roman station.

[2] Isle of Portland. The territory of the Durotriges comprised the present county of Dorset.

[3] The Cimbri occupied the south-west part of Somerset and north of Devon.

[4] The Parret.

[5] Uncertain,—probably in Devonshire.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Lundy Island.

ed the extreme angle of the island[1], from whom this district probably obtained its present name of Carnubia (Cornwall). Their chief cities were Musidum[2] and Halangium[3]. But as the Romans never frequented these almost desert and uncultivated parts of Britain, their cities seem to have been of little consequence, and were therefore neglected by historians; though geographers mention the promontories Bolerium and Antivestæum[4].

XVIII. Near the abovementioned people on the sea coast towards the south, and bordering on the Belgæ Allobroges, lived the Damnonii, the most powerful people of those parts; on which account Ptolemy assigns to them all the country extending into the sea like an arm[5]. Their cities were Uxella[6], Tamara[7], Voluba[8], Cenia[9], and Isca[10], the mother of all, situated upon the Isca. Their chief rivers were the Isca[11], Durius[12], Tamarus[13], and Ce-

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The north and west of Cornwall to the Land's End.

[2] Near Stratton. [3] Carnbre.

[4] Land's End, and Lizard Point. According to Ptolemy, these signified the same point; and in that case the name was probably applied to the whole headland.

[5] Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, and part of Somerset. Their real territory, however, was Devonshire, and the south-east part of Cornwall.

[6] Probably near Bridgewater. [7] On the Tamar.

[8] On the Fowey. [9] On the Fal.

[10] Exeter. [11] Ex.

[12] The Dart. [13] Tamar.

nius[1]. Their coasts are distinguished by three promontories, which will be hereafter mentioned. This region was much frequented by the Phœnicians, Grecians, and Gallic merchants, for the metals with which it abounded, particularly for its tin. Proofs of this may be drawn from the names of the above-mentioned promontories, namely Hellenis[2], Ocrinum[3], and Κριὸς μέτωπον[4], as well as the numerous appellations of cities, which show a Grecian or Phœnician derivation.

XIX. Beyond this arm are the isles called Sygdiles[5], which are also denominated Œstromenides and Cassiterides.

XX. It is affirmed that the emperor Vespasian fought thirty battles with the united force of the Damnonii and Belgæ. The ten different tribes who inhabited the south banks of the Thames and Severn being gradually subdued, their country was formed into the province of Britannia Prima, so called because it was the first fruit of victory obtained by the Romans.

XXI. Next in order is Britannia Secunda, which is divided from Britannia Prima by the countries

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[1] The Fal.
[2] Lizard Point.
[3] Probably Berry Head.
[4] Ram Head.
[5] Scilly Isles.

already mentioned, and from the Flavian province by the Sabrina[1] and the Deva[2]; and the remaining parts are bounded by the internal sea. This was the renowned region of the Silures[3], inhabited by three powerful tribes. Among these were particularly distinguished the Silures Proper, whom the turbid æstuary of the Severn divides from the country we have just described. These people, according to Solinus, still retain their antient manners, have neither markets nor money, but barter their commodities, regarding rather utility than price. They worship the gods, and both men and women are supposed to foretel future events.

XXII. The chief cities of the Silures were, Sariconium[4], Magna[5], Gobaneum[6], and Venta[7] their capital. A Roman colony possessed the city built on the Isca[8], and called after that name, for many years the station of the second or Augustan legion, until it was transferred to the Valentian province,

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[1] Severn. [2] Dee.

[3] The territories of the Silures, with their dependent tribes, were the *Dimeciæ*, the counties of Pembroke, Cardigan and Caermarthen. The *Silures*, the rest of South Wales, Monmouth and Herefordshire, and that part of Worcestershire which lies south of the Teme and west of the Severn. The *Ordovices*, the country to the west of the Severn and the Dee, except the Isle of Anglesey and the territory of the *Cangani*, which was the country lying to the west of a line drawn from Bangor to Pwllkely Bay.

[4] Ross. [5] Kentchester. [6] Abergavenny. [7] Caerwent. [8] Caerleon, on Usk.

and Rhutupis[1]. This was the primary station of the Romans in Britannia Secunda.

XXIII. The country of the Silures was long powerful, particularly under Caractacus, who during nine years withstood the Roman arms, and frequently triumphed over them, until he was defeated by Ostorius, as he was preparing to attack the Romans. Caractacus however escaped from the battle, and in applying for assistance to the neighbouring chieftains was delivered up to the Romans, by the artifices of a Roman matron, Carthismandua, who had married Venutius chief of Brigantia. After this defeat the Silures bravely defended their country till it was overrun by Varonius, and being finally conquered by Frontinus it was reduced into a Roman province under the name of Britannia Secunda.

XXIV. Two other tribes were subject to the Silures. First the Ordovices, who inhabited the north towards the isle of Mona[2]; and secondly the Dimeciæ, who occupied the west, where the promontory Octorupium[3] is situated, and from whence is a passage of thirty miles[4] to Ireland. The cities of the Dimeciæ were Menapia[5] and Muridunum[6] the

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[1] Richborough in Kent.
[2] Anglesey.
[3] St. David's Head.
[4] XXX Milliarium.
[5] St. David's.
[6] Caermarthen.

metropolis. The Romans seized upon Lovantium[1] as their station. Beyond these, and the borders of the Silures, were the Ordovices, whose cities were Mediolanum[2] and Brannogenium[3]. The Sabrina, which rises in their mountains, is justly reckoned one of the three largest rivers of Britain, the Thamesis (Thames) and the Tavus (Tay) being the other two. The name of the Ordovices is first distinguished in history on account of the revenge which they took for the captivity of their renowned chief. Hence they continually harassed the Roman army, and would have succeeded in annihilating their power, had not Agricola turned hither his victorious arms, subdued the whole nation, and put the greater part to the sword.

XXV. The territory situated north of the Ordovices, and washed by the ocean, was formerly under their dominion. These parts were certainly inhabited by the Cangiani, whose chief city was Segontium[4], near the Cangian promontory[5], on the Menevian shore opposite Mona[6], an island long distinguished as the residence of the druids. This island contained many towns, though it was scarcely sixty miles in circuit; and, as Pliny asserts, is distant from the colony Camalodunum two hun-

[1] Llanio Issau on the Teivi.
[2] Near Lentwardine.
[3] Brach y Pwll Point.
[4] On the bank of the Tanat.
[4] Caer Segont.
[6] Anglesey.

dred miles. The rivers of the Cangiani were Tosibus[1], called also Canovius, and the Deva[2], which was their boundary. In this region is the stupendous mountain Eriri[3]. Ordovicia, together with the regions of the Cangiani and Carnabii, unless report deceives me, constituted a province called Genania, under the reign of the emperors subsequent to Trajan.

XXVI. I now proceed to the Flavian province; but for want of authentic documents am unable to ascertain, whether it derived its name from Flavia Julia Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, who was born in these parts, or from the Flavian family.

XXVII. Towards the river Deva were situated in the first place the Carnabii[4]. Their principal places were Benonæ[5], Etocetum[6], and Banchorium[7], the last the most celebrated monastery in the whole island, which being overthrown in the dispute with Augustin was never afterwards restored; and the mother of the rest, Uriconium[8], esteemed one of the largest

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[1] The Conway. [2] Dee.

[3] Snowdon.

[4] The territory of the Carnabii was bounded on the north by the Mersey, west by the Severn, east by part of the Watling Street, and to the south by Staffordshire.

[5] Benonis; High Cross. [6] Wall.

[7] Banchor. [8] Wroxeter.

cities in Britain. In the extreme angle of this country, near the Deva, was the Roman colony Deva[1], the work of the twentieth legion, which was called Victrix, and was formerly the defence of the region. This place is supposed to be what is now termed West Chester.

XXVIII. Below these people stretched the kingdom, or rather the republic, of the Cassii, called by Ptolemy Catieuchlani, which arose from the union of two nations. Those nearest the Sabrina were called the Dobuni, or, according to the annals of Dio, the Boduni[2]. In their country the Thames rises, and, proceeding through the territories of the Hedui, Attrebates, Cassii, Bibroci, Trinobantes, and Cantii, after a long course flows into the German ocean. The cities of the Dobuni were Salinæ[3], Branogena[4] on the left of the Sabrina, (Severn,) Alauna[5], and the most venerable of all, Corinium[6], a famous city supposed to have been built by Vespasian. But Glevum[7], situated in the ex-

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[1] Chester.

[2] The *Dobuni* were bounded on the west by the Severn, on the south by the Thames, on the east by the Charwell, and on the north by the Carnabii.

The *Cassii*, bounded on the south by the Thames, on the west by the Dobuni, on the east by the Brent, and on the north by the Iceni.

[3] Droitwich.

[4] Near Lentwardine.

[5] Alcester.

[6] Cirencester in Glocestershire.

[7] Glocester.

treme part of the kingdom, towards the territory of the Silures, was occupied by a Roman colony, which, according to the writers of those times, was introduced by Claudius Cæsar. Adjoining to these were the Cassii, whose chief cities were Forum Dianæ[1] and Verulamium[2]. But when the last was raised by the Romans to the municipal rank, it obtained the preeminence over the other cities. St. Alban the martyr was here born. This city was involved in the ruin of Camalodunum[3] and Londinium[4] in the insurrection of Bonduica, which is related by Tacitus. The Cassii were conspicuous above the other nations of the island; and Cæsar in his second invasion had the severest conflicts with their renowned chief Cassibellinus, to whom many people were tributary; and was repulsed by the Cassii in league with the Silures; to which Lucan alludes:

"Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis."

XXIX. Near the Cassii, where the river Thamesis approaches the ocean, was the region of the Trinobantes[5], who not only entered into alliance with the Romans, but resigned to them Londinium their

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[1] Dunstable.
[2] Old St. Alban's.
[3] Colchester.
[4] London.
[5] It stretched from the Thames to the Stour on the north, and on the west to the Brent and the Ouse.

metropolis, and Camalodunum situated near the sea, for the purpose of establishing colonies. In this city was supposed to be born Flavia Julia Helena, the pious wife of Constantine Chlorus and mother of Constantine the Great, who was descended from the blood of the British kings. It was the chief colony of the Romans in Britain, and distinguished by a temple of Claudius, an image of Victory, with many ornaments[1]. But Londinium was and ever will be a city of great eminence. It was first named Trinovantum, then Londinium, afterwards Augusta, and now again Londona. According to the chronicles it is more antient than Rome. It is situated upon the banks of the Thamesis, and is the great emporium of many nations trading by land or sea. This city was surrounded with a wall by the empress Helena, the discoverer of the Holy Cross; and, if reliance may be placed on tradition, which is not always erroneous, was called Augusta, as Britain was distinguished by the name of the Roman Island.

XXX. The boundary of this people towards the north was the river Surius[2], beyond which lived the

[1] This temple with its ornaments is mentioned in Tacitus.

[2] Sturius, the Stour. The territory of the Iceni Magni stretched from the Stour to the north of the Nen and the Ouse, possibly the Welland, and on the west to the boundaries of the Carnabii and Dobuni. That of the Cenomanni, with the same bounds to the west stretched from the Welland to the Humber.

Iceni, a famous people divided into two tribes. The first of these, the Cenomanni, dwelt to the north towards the Trinobantes and Cassii, and bordered on the ocean towards the east. Their cities were Durnomagus[1], and their metropolis Venta[2]. Camboricum[3] was a Roman colony. A tongue of land stretching into the sea towards the east was called Flavia Extrema[4]. Their most remarkable rivers are the Garion[5], the Surius[6], and the Aufona[7] which falls into the bay of Metaris[8]. Beyond the Aufona, bordering on the Carnabii, Brigantes, and the ocean, lived the Coitanni[9], in a tract of country overspread with woods, which, like all the woods of Britain, was called Caledonia[10]. This is mentioned by the historian Florus[11]. The chief city of the Coitani was Ragæ[12]. Besides this was Lindum[13], a Roman colony, on the eastern extremity of the province. The river Trivonia[14] divides the whole country into two parts. The nation of the

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[1] Castor near Chesterton on Nen.
[2] Castor near Norwich.
[3] Cambridge.
[4] Some part of the Suffolk coast.
[5] The Yar.
[6] The Stour.
[7] The Nen.
[8] Boston Deep.
[9] In the map these people are called the Coritani. They seem to have inhabited Lincoln, Leicester, and Nottingham.
[10] Calyddon means coverts or thickets.
[11] B. iii. ch. 10, where, speaking of Cæsar, he says, "Caledonias sequutus in sylvas."
[12] Leicester.
[13] Lincoln.
[14] Trent.

Iceni, being of a warlike character, neglected husbandry as well as the civil arts; they voluntarily joined the Romans; but, revolting, and exciting others to follow their example, were first subdued by Ostorius. A few years afterwards, Præsutagus their king, at his decease, made Cæsar and his descendants his heirs. But the Romans, abusing the friendship of these people and giving themselves up to every species of debauchery, excited their resentment, and the Iceni with their allies, under the warlike Bonduica, widow of Præsutagus, destroyed their colonies, and massacred eighty thousand Roman citizens. They were afterwards reduced by the legate Suetonius, a man highly esteemed for prudence.

XXXI. On the northern part of this region is the river Abus[1], which falls into the ocean, and was one of the boundaries of the province Maxima, as Seteja[2] was the other. This province was also called the kingdom of Brigantia, because it comprehended the region of that name inhabited by three nations. At the eastern point[3], where the promontories of Oxellum[4] and of the Brigantes[5] stretch into the sea, lived the Parisii, whose cities were Petuaria[6] and Portus Felix[7].

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[1] The Humber. [2] The Mersey.
[3] The south-east part of the East Riding of York.
[4] Spurn Head. [5] Flamborough Head.
[6] Broughton on Humber. [7] Near Bridlington Bay.

XXXII. Above, but on the side of the Parisii, are the proper Brigantes[1], a numerous people who once gave law to the whole province. Their towns were Epiacum[2], Vinovium[3], Cambodunum[4], Cataracton[5], Galacum[6], Olicana[7], and the chief city Isurium[8]. Eboracum[9], on the Urus[10], was the metropolis, first a colony of the Romans, called Sexta, from being the station of the sixth legion, termed the Victorious, and afterwards distinguished by the presence of many emperors, and raised to the privileges of a municipal city.

XXXIII. This province is divided into two equal parts by a chain of mountains called the Pennine Alps, which rising on the confines of the Iceni and Carnabii, near the river Trivona[11], extend towards the north in a continued series of fifty miles.

XXXIV. The people to the west of this chain[12]

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[1] Their territory stretched from the bounds of the Parisii northward to the Tine, and from the Humber and Don to the mountains of Lancashire, Westmoreland and Cumberland.

[2] Lanchester. [3] Binchester.

[4] Slack. [5] Catteric.

[6] Galgacum, uncertain. [7] Ilkley.

[8] Aldborough. [9] York.

[10] Probably from the Ure, which receives the name of Ouse above York, on its junction with the Nid.

[11] Trent.

[12] To the Voluntii belonged the western part of Lancashire; and to the Sistuntii, the west of Westmoreland and Cumberland as far as the wall.

are the Voluntii and Sistuntii, who are united in a close confederacy[1]. Their cities are Rerigonium[2], Coccium[3], and Lugubalium[4]. The two last were occupied by Roman garrisons.

XXXV. The northern frontier of this province was protected by a wall[5] of stupendous magnitude,

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[1] Hence, in § 31, they are called one people.

[2] Ribchester. [3] Blackrode.

[4] Carlisle.

[5] The wall of Severus. The exact site of the barrier erected by Severus against the northern tribes, furnished matter of dispute to many of our antiquaries. The researches of others, particularly Horsley, have however set this question at rest. From their information, joined to the scanty evidence of history, it has been proved that three walls or ramparts were erected by the Romans at different times, to secure the northern frontier of their dominions in Britain.

The first was a rampart of earth, from the Solway Frith to the Tine, raised by Hadrian about the year 120; but its form and construction have not been satisfactorily ascertained. It was however evidently nothing more than a line intended to obstruct the passage of an enemy between the stations which constituted the real defences of the frontier.

The second was raised by Lollius Urbicus under the reign of Antoninus Pius about 140, between the Friths of Forth and Clyde. This was likewise of earth, though perhaps faced with stone, and, like that of Hadrian, seems to have been intended as a line connecting the chain of stations, which formed a new barrier on the advance of the Roman arms. In the course of both these was a military road communicating from station to station.

The last and most important is that begun by Severus, after his expedition against the Caledonians, about 208. It runs nearly over the same ground as that of Hadrian; but is a complete and well combined system of fortification. From an examination of its remains it appears to have been built of stone, fifteen feet high and nine thick. It had a parapet and ditch, a military road, and was defended by 18 greater stations placed at intervals of three to six miles; 83 castles

built by the Romans across the isthmus, eighty miles in length, twelve feet high and (*nine*) thick, strengthened with towers.

XXXVI. We collect from history, that these people were first attacked by the emperor Claudius, then overrun by the legate Ostorius, and finally defeated by Cerealis. By their voluntary submission to Agricola they obtained peace. The actions and unheard-of perfidy of their queen have disgraced their name in history. These people were descended from those powerful nations, who in search of new habitations quitted their country, which was situated between the Danube, the Alps, and the Rhone[1]. Some of them afterwards emigrated into Ireland, as appears from authentic documents.

XXXVII. Further north were situated those

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at intervals of 6 to 8 furlongs, and, as it is imagined, a considerable number of turrets placed at shorter distances.

Either from superior sagacity or superior information, Richard clearly distinguishes these three walls, which so much puzzled later writers, though it must be confessed that in other places he has suffered himself to be led into some errors in regard to their situation, and the persons by whom they were erected.—See b. ii. c. 1. sect. 22. 27. 36, 37.; ch. 2. sect. 17. 23. For a detailed account of these works the reader is referred to *Horsley's Britannia Romana; Warburton's Account of the Roman Wall; Hutchinson's Northumberland; Roy's Military Antiquities; Hutton's Account of the Roman Wall.*

[1] These were the Helvetii, whose emigration is mentioned in *Cæs. Comm. de Bell. Gall. lib. i.* We have not discovered from what authority Richard draws his account of their emigration to Ireland.

powerful nations, who in former times were known under the name of Maætæ, and from whom that fratricide Bassianus[1], after the death of his father, basely purchased peace. They possessed Ottadinia towards the east, Gadenia, Selgovia, Novantia, and further north Damnia.

XXXVIII. Nearest the wall dwelt the Gadeni[2], whose metropolis was Curia[3]. The Ottadini[4] were situated nearer the sea. Their chief city was Bremenium[5], and their rivers Tueda[6], Alauna[7], and the two Tinas[8], which ran within the wall.

XXXIX. The Selgovæ[9] inhabited the country to the west. Their cities were Corbantorigum[10], Uxellum[11], and Trimontium[12], which, according to

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[1] Caracalla.

[2] The Gadeni appear to have occupied the midland parts from the wall, probably as far as the Forth.

[3] Uncertain;—by some placed at Castle Cary.

[4] The Ottadini stretched along the eastern coast, from the wall as far as the Frith of Forth, and were bounded on the west by the Gadeni.

[5] Ribchester. [6] Tweed.

[7] The Coquet.

[8] The north and south Tine: but Richard errs in supposing they both ran within the wall.

[9] The Selgovæ appear to have occupied all the shire of Dumfries, and part of Kirkudbright.

[10] Near Drumlanrig, *Horsley*. Kirkudbright, *Roy*.

[11] Uncertain. [12] Birrenswork Hill.

antient documents, was a long time occupied by a Roman garrison. The principal rivers of this region were Novius[1], Deva[2], and partly the Ituna[3].

XL. The Novantes[4] dwell beyond the Deva, in the extreme part of the island, near the sea, and opposite Ireland. In their country was the famous Novantum Chersonesus[5], distant twenty-eight miles from Ireland, and esteemed by the antients the most northern promontory of Britain[6], though without sufficient reason. Their metropolis was Lucophibia, or Casæ Candidæ[7]; their rivers Abrasuanus[8], Jena[9], and Deva[10], which was the boundary towards the east.

XLI. The Damnii[11] dwelt to the north of the

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[1] Nith.
[2] The Dee.
[3] The Eden.
[4] The Novantes held the south-western district of Scotland, from the Dee to the Mull of Galloway; that is, the west of Kirkudbright and Wigtown, and part of the Carrick division of Ayr.
[5] Rens of Galloway. It is not, however, more than 18 miles from the nearest part of Ireland.
[6] By an error in the geographical or astronomical observations preserved by Ptolemy, the latitudes north of this point appear to have been mistaken for the longitudes, and consequently this part of Britain is thrown to the east.
[7] Wigtown, *Horsley*. Whithern, *Stukeley, Roy*.
[8] The Luce.
[9] Cree, *Roy*.
[10] Dee.
[11] These people inhabited the principal part of what are called the Lowlands. Their territories beyond the Isthmus evidently stretched as far as the Grampians, consisting of great part of Ayr, all Renfrew and Lanark, a considerable part of Stirling, and perhaps Linlithgow.

Novantes, the Selgovæ and the Gadeni, and were separated from them by the chain of the Uxellan mountains[1]. They were a very powerful people, but lost a considerable portion of their territory when the wall was built, being subdued and spoiled by the Caledonians. Besides which, a Roman garrison occupied Vanduarium[2] to defend the wall.

XLII. In this part, Britain, as if again delighted with the embraces of the sea, becomes narrower than elsewhere, in consequence of the rapid influx of the two æstuaries, Bodotria and Clotta[3]. Agricola first secured this Isthmus with fortifications, and the emperor Antoninus[4] erected another wall celebrated in history, which extended nearly five-and-thirty miles, in order to check the incursions of the barbarians. It was repaired, and strengthened with eleven towers, by the general Ætius. These regions probably constituted that province, which being recovered by the victorious arms of the Romans under Theodosius, was supposed to have been named Valentia, in honour of the family from whom the reigning emperor was descended.

XLIII. Beyond the wall lay the province Vespasiana. This is the Caledonian region so much

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[1] The Lothers.

[2] Paisley, *Horsley*; perhaps Renfrew, *Roy*.

[3] Friths of Forth and Clyde. [4] See page 52.

coveted by the Romans, and so bravely defended by the natives, facts which the Roman historians, generally too silent in regard to such things, have amply detailed. In these districts may be seen the river Tavus[1], which appears to separate the country into two parts. There are also found the steep and horrid Grampian hills, which divide the province. In this region was fought that famous battle between Agricola and Galgacus, which was so decisive in favour of the Romans[2]. The magnitude of the works at this day displays the power of the Romans, and the antient mode of castrametation; for, in the place where the battle was fought, certain persons of our order who passed that way, affirmed that they saw immense camps, and other proofs which corroborated the relation of Tacitus.

XLIV. The nations which were subject to the Romans shall now follow in their order. Beyond the Isthmus, as far as the Tavus[1], lived the Horestii[3].

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[1] Tay.

[2] It may perhaps appear superfluous to refer the antiquary to Roy's masterly Commentary on the campaigns of Agricola in this part of Britain; but it will scarcely be deemed so to observe, that we see few instances in which military and local knowledge are so well applied to the elucidation of antiquities.

[3] The Horestii occupied Clackmannan and Kinross, and part of Perth as far as the Tay. To them belonged likewise all the country stretching from the Grampians to Loch Lomond.

Their cities, which before the building of the wall belonged to the Damnii, were Alauna[1], Lindum[2], and Victoria[3], the last not less glorious in reality than in name. It was built by Agricola on the Tavus, twenty miles above its mouth.

XLV. Above these, beyond the Tavus, which formed the boundary, lived the Vecturones or Venricones[4], whose chief city was Orrea[5], and their rivers Æsica[6] and Tina[7].

XLVI. The Taixali[8] inhabited the coast beyond the boundaries of the Vecturones. Their principal city was Devana[9], and their rivers the Deva[10] and Ituna[11]. A part of the Grampian hills, which extends like a promontory into the sea, as it were to meet Germany, borrows its name from them[12].

XLVII. To the west of these, beyond the Gram-

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[1] Uncertain. Stirling, *Stukeley*. Also near Kier, *Roy*.
[2] Ardoch. [3] Dealgin Ross.
[4] The Vecturones occupied the eastern part of Perth, Forfar, Kincardin, and part of Aberdeen.
[5] Bertha, or Old Perth. [6] South Esk.
[7] Tine.
[8] The Taixali held the eastern coast of Aberdeen, apparently as far as Kinnaird Head.
[9] Probably Old Aberdeen. [10] Dee.
[11] Ithan. [12] Kinnaird Head.

pian hills, lived the Vacomagi[1], who possessed an extensive tract of country. Their cities were Tuesis[2], Tamea[3], and Banatia[4]. Ptoroton[5], situated at the mouth of the Varar[6] on the coast, was at the same time a Roman station, and the chief city of the province. The most remarkable rivers of this region, after the Varar, which formed the boundary, were the Tuesis[7] and Celnius[8].

XLVIII. Within the Vacomagi, and the Tavus, lived the Damnii Albani[9], a people little known, being wholly secluded among lakes and mountains.

XLIX. Lower down, to the banks of the Clotta, inhabited the Attacotti[10], a people once formidable to all Britain. In this part is situated the great lake formerly called Lynchalidor[11], at the mouth of which the city of Alcuith[12] was built by the Ro-

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[1] The Vacomagi were spread over an extensive region west of the Taixali and north of the Grampians, comprising a considerable part of Aberdeen, all Banff, Murray, Elgin, and Nairn, with the north-east of Inverness.

[2] On the Spey, near the church of Bellie. [3] Brae Mar castle.

[4] Uncertain, but near the Ness; perhaps Inverness or Bonness.

[5] Burgh Head. [6] Murray Frith.

[7] Spey. [8] Dovern.

[9] The Damnii Albani may have been a remnant of the Damnii, who, after the erection of the wall, being cut off from the rest of their tribe, were gradually circumscribed by the neighbouring people, to Braidalbane, and a small part of the west of Perth and east of Argyle.

[10] The Attacotti occupied a considerable part of Argyle, as far as Lochfyn. [11] Loch Lomond.

[12] Dumbarton. It was afterwards called Theodosia.

mans, and not long afterwards received its name from Theodosius, who recovered that province from the barbarians. These people deserved high praise for having sustained the attacks of the enemy after the subjugation of the neighbouring provinces.

L. This province was named Vespasiana, in honour of the Flavian family, to which the emperor Domitian owed his origin, and under whom it was conquered. If I am not mistaken, it was called under the later emperors Thule, which Claudian mentions in these lines:

"———— incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Hierne."

But this country was so short a time under the power of the Romans, that posterity cannot ascertain its appellations or subjugation. We have now examined in a cursory manner the state of Britain under the Romans; we shall next as briefly treat of the country of the Caledonians.

Concerning Caledonia.

LI. Although all the parts of Britain lying beyond the Isthmus may be termed Caledonia, yet the proper Caledonians dwelt beyond the Varar, from which a line drawn accurately points out the boundary of the Roman empire in Britain. The hithermost part of the island was at different times in their possession, and the remainder, as we have re-

lated, was occupied by barbarous Britons. The antient documents of history afford some information thus far; but beyond the Varar the light is extinct, and we are enveloped in darkness[1]. Although we know that the Romans erected altars there to mark the limits of their empire, and that Ulysses, tost by a violent tempest, here fulfilled his vows; yet the thick woods and a continued chain of rugged mountains forbid all further research. We must therefore be satisfied with the following information, gleaned from the wandering merchants of the Britons, which we leave for the use of posterity.

LII. The Caledonians[2], properly so called, inhabited the country to the westward of the Varar, and part of their territory was covered by the extensive forest called the Caledonian wood.

LIII. Less considerable people dwelt near the coast. Of these the Cantæ[3] were situated beyond the Varar, and the abovementioned altars, to the

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[1] It must be confessed that the information preserved by Richard, in regard to this remote part of our island, is extremely obscure, and that his descriptions will only assist us in guessing at the situation of the different tribes. Perhaps this can scarcely be deemed extraordinary, when we consider how imperfectly the interior of this country is known even at present.

[2] The country of the proper Caledonians was the central part of Inverness and Ross.

[3] The Cantæ seem to have held Cromarty and East Ross.

river Loxa[1], and in their territory was the promontory Penoxullum[2].

LIV. Next in order is the river Abona[3], and the inhabitants near it, the Logi[4]. Then the river Ila[5], near which lived the Carnabii[6], the most remote of the Britons. These people being subdued by the proprætor Ostorius, and impatiently bearing the Roman yoke, joined the Cantæ, as tradition relates, and, crossing the sea, here fixed their residence. Britain in these parts branches out into many promontories, the chief of which, the extremity of Caledonia, was called by the antients Vinvedrum, and afterwards Verubium[7].

LV. After these people were placed the Catini[8], and the Mertæ[9] further inland near the Logi. In these regions was the promontory of the Orcades[10], contiguous to which are the islands of that name.

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[1] Frith of Cromartie, *Stukeley*. Loth R. *Roy*.

[2] Tarbet Ness, *Stukeley*. Ord Head, Caithness, *Roy*.

[3] Frith of Dornoch, *Stukeley*.

[4] The Logi seem to have held the south-east of Strathnavern and north-east of Sutherland.

[5] All, *Stukeley*. Shiel, *Roy*.

[6] The Carnabii inhabited part of Caithness, the north of Ross, and central part of Sutherland.

[7] Ness or Noss Head, *Stukeley*.

[8] The Catini held part of Caithness and the east of Sutherland.

[9] The Mertæ held the country comprised between the Catini and Carnabii.

[10] Dunnet Head, *Stukeley*. Duncansby Head, *Roy*.

Beyond this part flowed the Nabæus[1], which bounded the territory of the Carnabii.

LVI. In the lower part of this region were situated the Carnonacæ[2], in whose territories was the promontory Ebudum[3], beyond which the ocean forms a large bay, formerly called Volsas[4]. The lower coast of this bay was inhabited by the Cerones[5]; and beyond the Itys[6], the territory of the Creones extended as far as the Longus[7]. The promontory stretching from thence, and washed by the ocean and the bay Lelanus[8], is named after the inhabitants the Epidii[9].

LVII. I cannot repass the Varar without expressing my wonder that the Romans, in other respects so much distinguished for judgement and investigation, should have entertained the absurd notion, that the remainder of Britain exceeded in

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[1] Navern.

[2] The Carnonacæ seem to have held the detached portion of Cromarty, situated near Loch Broom, and a small part on the border of Sutherland.

[3] Cape Wrath. [4] Loch Broom.

[5] The Cerones held the north-west part of Ross;—the Creones, south-west of Ross and Inverness, and a part of Argyle.

[6] Shiel, *Roy.*

[7] Loch Loch, *Stukeley.* Linnhe Loch, *Roy.*

[8] Lochfyn.

[9] The Epidii probably occupied the western part of Argyle, as far as the Mull of Cantyr, and were bounded on one side by the sea and on the other by Lochfyn.

length and breadth the regions which they had subdued and occupied. There is however sufficient evidence that such was their opinion; for whoever attentively considers their insatiable desire of rule, and reflects on the labour employed in the erection of those stupendous works which excite the wonder of the world, in order to exclude an enemy scarcely worthy of their notice or resentment, must in this respect, as in all others, adore the providence of the Divine Being, to whom all kingdoms are subject, and perpetual glory is due, now and for ever. Amen!

CHAPTER VII.

THE different parts of Britain having been cursorily examined according to my original design, it seems necessary, before I proceed to a description of the islands, to attend to a doubt suggested by a certain person[1]. "Where," asks he, "are the vestiges of those cities and names which you commemorate? There are none." This question may be answered by another: Where are now the Assyrians, Parthians, Sarmatians, Celtiberians? None will be bold enough to deny the existence of those nations. Are there not also at this time many countries and cities bearing the same names as they did two or three thousand years ago? Judea, Italy, Gaul, Britain, are as clearly known now as in former times; Londinium is still styled in the common language, with a slight change of sound, London. The negligence and inattention of our ancestors in omitting to collect and preserve such documents as might have been serviceable in this particular, are not deserving of heavy censure, for scarcely any but those

[1] These remarks prove how much Richard rose superior to the prejudices of his age and his profession. From the tone which he assumes, it is however evident that he found it advisable to yield to the remonstrances of his superior.

in holy orders employed themselves in writing books, and such even esteemed it inconsistent with their sacred office to engage in such profane labours. I rather think I may without danger, and without offence, transmit to posterity that information which I have drawn from a careful examination and accurate scrutiny of antient records, concerning the state of this kingdom in former periods. The good abbot, indeed, had nearly inspired me with other sentiments, by thus seeming to address me: Are you ignorant how short a time is allotted us in this world; that the greatest exertions cannot exempt us from the appellation of unprofitable servants; and that all our studies should be directed to the purpose of being useful to others? Of what service are these things, but to delude the world with unmeaning trifles? To these remarks I answer with propriety: Is then every honest gratification forbidden? Do not such narratives exhibit proofs of Divine Providence? Does it not hence appear, that an evangelical sermon concerning the death and merits of Christ enlightened and subdued a world overrun with Gentile superstitions? To the reply, that such things are properly treated of in systems of chronology, I rejoin: Nor is it too much to know that our ancestors were not, as some assert, Autochthones, sprung from the earth; but that God opened the book of Nature to display his omnipotence, such as it is described in the writings of Moses.

When the abbot answered, that works which were intended merely to acquire reputation for their authors from posterity, should be committed to the flames, I confess with gratitude that I repented of this undertaking. The remainder of the work is therefore only a chronological abridgement, which I present to the reader, whom I commend to the goodness and protection of God; and at the same time request, that he will pray for me to our holy Father, who is merciful and inclined to forgiveness.

The following Itinerary is collected from certain fragments left by a Roman general. The order is changed in some instances according to Ptolemy and others, and, it is hoped, with improvement[1].

[1] As the Itinerary is given in the Commentary and in the original Treatise, it is omitted in this place.

AMONG the Britons were formerly ninety-two cities, of which thirty-three were more celebrated and conspicuous. Two municipal[1], Verolamium[2], and Eboracum[3]. Nine colonial[4]; namely, Londinium[5] *Augusta*, Camalodunum[6] *Geminæ Martiæ*, Rhutupis[7], * * * * * Thermæ[8] *Aquæ Solis*, Isca[9] *Secunda*, Deva[10] *Getica*, Glevum[11] *Claudia*, Lindum[12], * * * * Camboricum[13]. * * * * Ten cities under the Latian law[14]; namely, Durnomagus[15], Catarracton[16], Cambodunum[17], Coccium[18], Lugubalia[19], Ptoroton[20], Victoria[21], Theodosia[22], Corinum[23], Sorbiodunum[24]. Twelve

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[1] Municipia were towns whose inhabitants possessed in general all the rights of Roman citizens, except those which could not be enjoyed without an actual residence at Rome. They followed their own laws and customs, and had the option of adopting or rejecting those of Rome. —*Rosini Antiq. Rom. b. x. c.* 23.

[2] St. Alban's. [3] York.

[4] There were different kinds of colonies, each entitled to different rights and privileges; but we have no criterion to ascertain the rank occupied by those in Britain.

[5] London.
[6] Colchester.
[7] Richborough in Kent.
[8] Bath.
[9] Caerleon.
[10] Chester.
[11] Glocester.
[12] Lincoln.
[13] Cambridge.

[14] The Latian law consisted of the privileges granted to the antient inhabitants of Latium. These are not distinctly known; but appear principally to have been the right of following their own laws, an exemption from the edicts of the Roman Prætor, and the option of adopting the laws and customs of Rome.—*Rosini.* [15] Castor on Nen.

[16] Catteric.
[17] Slack.
[18] Blackrode.
[19] Carlisle.
[20] Burgh Head, Elgin, Scotland.
[21] Dealgin Ross.
[22] Dumbarton.
[23] Cirencester, Gloc.
[24] Old Sarum.

stipendiary[1] and of lesser consequence; Venta Silurum[2], Venta Belgarum[3], Venta Icenorum, Segontium[5], Muridunum[6], Ragæ[7], Cantiopolis[8], Durinum[9], Isca[10], Bremenium[11], Vindonum[12], and Durobrivæ[13]. But let no one lightly imagine that the Romans had not many others besides those above mentioned. I have only commemorated the more celebrated. For who can doubt that they who, as conquerors of the world, were at liberty to choose, did not select places fitted for their purposes? They for the most part took up their abode in fortresses which they constructed for themselves.

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[1] The Stipendiary were those who paid their taxes in money, in contradistinction from those who gave a certain portion of the product of the soil, and were called Vectigales.—*Rosini.*

[2] Caerwent, Monmouth.
[3] Winchester.
[4] Castor, near Norwich.
[5] Caer Segont.
[6] Seaton.
[7] Leicester.
[8] Canterbury.
[9] Dorchester.
[10] Exeter.
[11] Ribchester.
[12] Possibly Egbury camp, Hants.
[13] Rochester.

CHAPTER VIII.

I. HAVING now finished our survey of Albion, we shall describe the neighbouring country Hybernia or Ireland, with the same brevity.

II. Hybernia is situated more westerly than any other country except England; but as it does not extend so far north, so it stretches further than England towards the south, and the Spanish province of Tarraconensis, from which it is separated by the ocean[1].

III. The sea which flows between Britain and Hybernia is subject to storms, and, according to Solinus, is navigable only during a few days in summer. Midway between the two countries is the island called Monœda[2], but now Manavia.

IV. According to Bede, Hybernia is preferable to Britain, on account of its situation, salubrity and serene air, insomuch that snow seldom remains

[1] As we have neither the assistance of an itinerary to guide us in our researches, nor a local knowledge of Ireland, we have not attempted to specify the situation of the antient states and cities in that island.

[2] Man.

more than three days, nor is it usual to make hay for the winter, or build stalls for cattle.

V. No reptile is found there, nor does it maintain a viper or serpent; for serpents frequently carried from England have died on approaching the shore. Indeed almost all things in the island are antidotes to poison. We have seen an infusion of scraped pieces of bark brought from Hybernia, given to persons bitten by serpents, which immediately deprived the poison of its force, and abated the swelling.

VI. This island, according to the venerable Bede, is rich in milk and honey; nor is it without vines. It abounds with fish and birds, and affords deer and goats for the chase.

VII. The inhabitants, says Mela, are more than other nations uncivilized and without virtue, and those who have a little knowledge are wholly destitute of piety. Solinus calls them an inhospitable and warlike people. The conquerors, after drinking the blood of the slain, daub their faces with the remainder. They know no distinction between right and wrong. When a woman brings forth a son, she places its first food on the point of her husband's sword, and, introducing it into the mouth of the infant, wishes, according to the custom of the country, that he may die amidst arms and in battle.

Those who are fond of ornaments adorn the hilts of their swords with the teeth of marine animals, which they polish to a degree of whiteness equal to ivory; for the principal glory of a man consists in the splendour of his arms.

VIII. Agrippa states the length of Hybernia to be six hundred miles, and the breadth three hundred. It was formerly inhabited by twenty tribes, of whom (*fourteen*[1]) lived on the coast.

IX. This is the true country of the Scots, who emigrating from hence added a third nation to the Britons and Picts in Albion. But I cannot agree with Bede, who affirms that the Scots were foreigners. For, according to the testimony of other authors, I conceive they derived their origin from Britain, situated at no considerable distance, passed over from thence, and obtained a settlement in this island. It is certain that the Damnii, Voluntii, Brigantes, Cangi, and other nations, were descended from the Britons, and passed over thither after Divitiacus, or Claudius, or Ostorius, or other victorious generals had invaded their original countries. Lastly, The antient language, which resembles the old British and Gallic tongues, affords another argu-

[1] In the original is an error in the numerals, the number afterwards specified is fourteen.

ment, as is well known to persons skilled in both languages[1].

X. The Deucaledonian ocean washes the northern side of Hybernia; the Vergivian and Internal the eastern, the Cantabric the south, as the great British or Atlantic ocean does the western. According to this order, we shall give a description of the island and the most remarkable places.

XI. The Rhobogdii occupied the coast of the island next to the Deucalidonian sea. Their metropolis was Rhobogdium. In the eastern part of their territories was situated the promontory of the same name; in the western, the Promontorium Boreum, or Northern Promontory. Their rivers were the Banna, Darabouna, Argitta, and Vidua; and towards the south, mountains separated them from the Scotti.

XII. On the coast between the northern and Venicnian promontory, and as far as the mouth of the Rhebeus, dwelt the Venicnii. To them the contiguous islands owe their name. Their capital was Rheba. The Nagnatæ dwelt below the Rhebeus as far as the Libnius, and their celebrated metropolis

[1] Nearly one third of the words in the Irish tongue are the same as the modern Welsh, and many idioms and modes of speech are common to both languages.

was called after them. The Auterii lived in a recess of the bay of Ausoba, towards the south, and their chief city was named after them. The Concangii occupied the lower part of the same region, near the southern confines of which flowed the river Senus, a noble river, on which was situated their chief city Macobicum. Hybernia in this part being contracted terminates in a narrow point. The Velatorii inhabited the country near the southern promontory by the river Senus; their metropolis was Regia, and their river Durius. The Lucani were situated where the river Ibernus flows into the ocean.

XIII. The southern side of the island stretched from the Promontorium Austriacum, or Southern Promontory, to the Sacred Promontory. Here lived the Ibernii, whose metropolis was Rhufina. Next was the river Dobona, and the people called Vodiæ, whose promontory of the same name lies opposite to the Promontorium Antivestæum in England, at about the distance of one hundred-and-forty-five miles. Not far from thence is the river Dabrona, the boundary of the Brigantes, who have also the river Briga for their limit, and whose chief city is called Brigantia.

XIV. The part of this island which reaches from the Sacred Promontory as far as Rhobogdium is

called the Eastern. The Menapii, inhabiting the Sacred Promontory, had their chief city upon the river Modona called by the same name. From this part to Menapia[1], in Dimetia, the distance, according to Pliny, is thirty miles. One of these countries, but which is uncertain, gave birth to Carausius. Beyond these people the Cauci had their metropolis Dunum; and the river Oboca washed their boundaries. Both these nations were undoubtedly of Teutonic origin; but it is not known at what precise time their ancestors first passed over, though most probably a little while before Cæsar's arrival in Britain.

XV. Beyond these were the Eblanæ, whose chief city was Mediolanum, upon the river Lœbius. More to the north was Lebarum, the city of the Voluntii, whose rivers were Vinderus and Buvinda. The Damnii occupied the part of the island lying above these people, and contiguous to the Rhobogdii. Their chief city was Dunum, where St. Patrick, St. Columba, and St. Bridget are supposed to be buried in one tomb.

XVI. It remains now to give some account of those people who lived in the interior parts. The Coriondii bordered upon the Cauci and Menapii,

[1] St. Davids.

above the Brigantes: the Scotti possessed the remaining part of the island, which from them took the name of Scotia. Among many of their cities, the remembrance of two only has reached our times; the one Rheba, on the lake and river Rhebius; the other Ibernia, situated at the east side of the river Senus.

XVII. I cannot omit mentioning in this place that the Damnii, Voluntii, Brigantes, and Cangiani were all nations of British origin, who being either molested by neighbouring enemies, or unable to pay the heavy tribute exacted of them, gradually passed over into this country in search of new settlements. With respect to the Menapii, Chauci, and some other people, it has been before remarked that many things occur which cannot safely be relied on. Tacitus relates that Hybernia was more frequented by foreigners than Albion. But in that case, the antients would undoubtedly have left us a more ample and credible account of this island. While I am writing a description of Hybernia, it seems right to add, that it was reduced under the Roman power, not by arms but by fear; and moreover, that Ptolemy, in his second map of Europe, and other celebrated geographers have erred in placing it at too great a distance from Britain, and from the northern part of the province Secunda, as appears from their books and maps.

XVIII. North of Hybernia are the Hebudes, five[1] in number, the inhabitants of which know not the use of corn, but live on fish and milk. They are all, according to Solinus, subject to one chief, for they are only divided from each other by narrow straits. The chief possessed no peculiar property, but was maintained by general contribution: he was bound by certain laws; and lest avarice should seduce him from equity, he learned justice from poverty, having no house nor property, and being maintained at the public expense. He had no wife; but took by turns any woman for whom he felt an inclination, and hence had neither a wish nor hope for children. Some persons have written concerning these Hebudes, that during winter darkness continues for the space of thirty days; but Cæsar upon diligent inquiry found this assertion untrue, and only discovered by certain measures of time that the nights were shorter here than in Gaul.

XIX. The Orcades, according to some accounts, are distant from the Hebudes seven days and nights' sail; but this is erroneous. They are thirty in number, and contiguous to each other. They were uninhabited, without wood, and abounded with reeds:

[1] The Hebudes amount to more than five. From hence it may perhaps be inferred that the Roman fleet in their voyage of discovery did not reach these seas, though they coasted the northern part of Scotland, for the Orcades are rightly numbered

several were formed only of sand and rocks, as may be collected from Solinus and others.

XX. Thule, the last of the British isles, is placed by Mela opposite to[1] the coast of the Belgæ. It has been celebrated in Greek and Roman verse. Thus the Mantuan Homer says,

"Et tibi serviat ultima Thule."

Here are no nights during the solstice when the sun passes the sign of Cancer; and on the other hand, in winter there are no days, as Pliny asserts. These circumstances are supposed to happen for six whole months. The inhabitants, as Solinus affirms, in the beginning of the spring live among their cattle upon herbs, then upon milk, and lay up fruits against the winter. They have their women in common without marriages. Thule, according to the same author, abounds in fruits. At the distance of a day's sail from Thule the sea is difficult to pass through, and frozen; it is by some called Cronium. From Thule to Caledonia is two days' sail.

XXI. The isle of Thanatos[2] is bounded by a narrow channel, and separated from the continent of Britain by a small æstuary called the Wantsuam.

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[1] Littori apposita, Richard. From the map, and the sense in which this phrase is generally used in geography, it might be rendered *under the same meridian*. [2] Thanet.

It is rich in pasture and corn. According to Isiodorus, its soil is not only salubrious to itself but to others, for no snakes live in it, and the earth being carried to a distance destroys them. It is not far distant from Rhutupis[1].

XXII. The isle of Vecta[2], conquered by Vespasian, is thirty miles in length, on the side next to the Belgæ, from east to west, and twelve from north to south. In the eastern part it is six miles, in the western three, from the abovementioned southern shore of Britain.

XXIII. Besides the isles just specified there were VII Acmodæ[3], Ricnea[4], Silimnus[5], Andros[6], Sigdiles[7], XL Vindilios[8], Sarna[9], Cæsarea[10], and Cassiterides[11].

XXIV. The island Sena, opposite the Ossismican[12] coast, is according to Mela famous for the oracle of the Gallic deity, of whom the priestesses, sanctified by perpetual virginity, are said to have been nine in number. The Gauls call them Senæ, and suppose them gifted with singular powers; that they

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[1] Richborough. [2] Wight.

[3]—[8] No geographer has hitherto attempted to ascertain the modern names of these islands. [9] Guernsey.

[10] Jersey. [11] Scilly Isles.

[12] From a tribe of the Veneti called Ossismii who inhabited part of Bretagne.

raise the winds and the seas with incantations, change themselves into what animals they please, and cure disorders which in other places yield to no remedy; that they have the knowledge of future events, and prophesy. They are not favourable except to mariners, and only to such as go thither for the purpose of consulting them.

XXV. The rest of the isles of smaller size and consequence which lie round Albion will be better perceived and known by the inspection of the annexed map than from any description. Here therefore we stop, and anxiously commend our labours to the favour and judgement of the benevolent reader.

The first book of the geographical Commentary on the situation of Britain, and those stations which the Romans erected in that island, is happily finished, through the assistance of God, by the hand of Richard, servant of Christ and monk of Westminster. Thanks be to God!

THE ANTIENT STATE OF BRITAIN.

BOOK II.

PREFACE.

We have thought proper to add as a supplement to the description of antient Britain in the same summary manner:—

I. An epitome of chronology from the creation to the sack of Rome by the Goths:

II. A short account of the Roman emperors, and governors, who presided over this country:

III. Some persons will perhaps say that this kind of work is not absolutely necessary either for divine worship or greater things. But let

them know that leisure hours may be dedicated to the study of the antiquities of our country without any derogation from the sacred character. Yet if censorious people envy us such pleasures at leisure hours, hastening to the end and almost arrived at the goal, we here check our steps.

CHAPTER I.

IV. In the beginning, the Almighty Creator made this world, inhabited by us and other creatures, out of nothing, in the space of six days.

V. In the year of the world 1656, the Creator, to punish the increasing wickedness of mankind, sent a flood upon the earth, which overwhelming the whole world, destroyed every living creature except those which had entered the ark, and whose progeny replenished the new world with colonies of living beings.

VI. 3000. About this time some persons affirm that Britain was cultivated and first inhabited, when it was visited by the Greek and Phœnician merchants. Nor are those wanting who believe that London was shortly after built by a king called Bryto.

VII. 3228. The brothers Romulus and Remus laid the foundation of Rome, which in time became the common terror of all nations.

VIII. 3600. The Senones having emigrated from

Britain, passed through Gaul, with the intent to invade Italy and attack Rome.

IX. 3650. The Belgæ entered this country, and the Celtæ occupied the region deserted by the Senones. Divitiacus king of the Ædui soon afterwards passed over with an army and subdued great part of this kingdom. About this time the Britons who were expelled by the Belgæ emigrated to Ireland, formed a settlement, and were thenceforward called Scotti.

X. 3943. Cassibelinus waged war with the maritime states[1].

XI. 3946. Cæsar overcame the Germans, Gauls, and also the Britons, to whom, before this time, even the name of the Romans was unknown. The conqueror having received hostages rendered the people tributary.

XII. 3947. At length coming a second time into this country upon the invitation, as he pretended, of the Trinobantes, he waged war with Cassibelinus king of the Cassii. Suetonius however asserts, with

[1] Probably from Cæsar, though the precise date seems to be fixed without authority.—*Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib.* 5. § 9.

greater probability, that he was allured by the costly pearls of Britain.

XIII. 4044. The emperor Claudius passed over to Britain, and in the space of six months, almost without effusion of blood, reduced a great part of the island, which he ordered to be called Cæsariensis.

XIV. 4045. Vespasian, at that time in a private station, being sent by the emperor Claudius with the second legion into this country, attacked the Belgæ and Damnonii, and having fought thirty-two battles and taken twenty cities, reduced them under the Roman power, together with the isle of Wight.

XV. 4047. The Romans occupied Thermæ and Glebon.

XVI. 4050. Ostorius the Roman general, after a war of nine years, overcame Charaticus king of the Silures, great part of Britain was reduced into a province, and the colony of Camalodunum founded.

XVII. 4052. Certain cities of the Belgæ were yielded by the Romans to Cogibundus that he might form a kingdom. About this time the Cangi and Brigantes went over and settled in Ireland.

XVIII. 4061. The emperor Nero having no

courage for military enterprises, nearly lost Britain; for under him its two greatest cities were taken and destroyed. Bonduica, in order to revenge the injury offered to her by the Romans, rose in arms, burnt the Roman colonies of London, Camalodunum, and the municipal town Verulamium, and slew more than eighty thousand Roman citizens. She was at length overcome by Suetonius, who amply avenged the loss, by slaughtering an equal number of her subjects.

XIX. 4073. Cerealis conquered the Brigantes.

XX. 4076. Frontinus punishes the Ordovices.

XXI. 4080. Agricola after a severe engagement subdued Galgacus king of the Caledonians. He ordered all the island to be examined by a fleet, and having sailed round its coasts added the Orcades to the Roman empire.

XXII. 4120. The emperor Hadrian himself came into the island, and separated one part of it from the other by an immense wall.

XXIII. 4140. Urbicus being sent hither by Antoninus Pius distinguished himself by his victories.

XXIV. 4150. Aurelius Antoninus also obtained victories over some of the Britons.

XXV. 4160. Britain was enlightened by the introduction of Christianity, during the reign of Lucius, who first submitted himself to the cross of Christ.

XXVI. 4170. The Romans were driven from the Vespasian province. About this time it is supposed that king Reuda came with his people, the Picts, from the islands into Britain.

XXVII. 4207. The emperor Severus passing over into Britain repaired the wall built by the Romans which had been ruined, and died not long after, by the visitation of God, at York.

XXVIII. 4211. Bassianus (Caracalla) obtained a venal peace from the Mæatæ.

XXIX. 4220. During these times the Roman armies confined themselves within the wall, and all the island enjoyed a a profound peace.

XXX. 4290. Carausius having assumed the purple seized upon Britain; but ten years afterwards it was recovered by Asclepiodorus.

XXXI. 4304. A cruel and inveterate persecution, in which within the space of a month seventeen thousand martyrs suffered in the cause of Christ.

This persecution spread over the sea, and the Britons Aaron and Julius with great numbers of men and women were condemned to a happy death.

XXXII. 4306. Constantius, a man of the greatest humanity, having conquered Alectum, died at Eboracum in the sixteenth year of his reign.

XXXIII. 4307. Constantine, afterwards called the great, son of Constantius by Helena, a British woman, was created emperor in Britain; and Ireland voluntarily became tributary to him.

XXXIV. 4320. The Scotti entered Britain under the conduct of the king Fergusius, and here fixed their residence.

XXXV. 4385. Theodosius slew Maximus the tyrant three miles from Aquileia. Maximus having nearly drained Britain of all its warlike youth, who followed the footsteps of his tyranny over Gaul, the fierce transmarine nations of the Scots from the south, and the Picts from the north, perceiving the island without soldiers and defenceless, oppressed it and laid it waste during a long series of years.

XXXVI. 4396. The Britons indignantly submitting to the attacks of the Scots and Picts, sent to

Rome, made an offer of submission, and requested assistance against their enemies. A legion being accordingly dispatched to their assistance, slew a great multitude of the barbarians, and drove the remainder beyond the confines of Britain. The legion, upon its departure homewards, advised its allies to construct a wall between the two æstuaries to restrain the enemy. A wall was accordingly made in an unskilful manner, with a greater proportion of turf than stone, which was of no advantage; for on the departure of the Romans the former enemies returned in ships, slew, trampled on, and devoured all things before them like a ripened harvest.

XXXVII. 4400. Assistance being again entreated, the Romans came, and with the aid of the Britons drove the enemy beyond sea, and built a wall from sea to sea, not as before with earth, but with solid stone, between the fortresses erected in that part to curb the enemy. On the southern coast, where an invasion of the Saxons was apprehended, he erected watch towers. This was the work of Stiticho, as appears from Claudian.

XXXVIII. 4411. Rome, the seat of the fourth and greatest of the monarchies, was seized by the Goths, as Daniel prophesied, in the year one thousand one hundred and sixty-four after its foundation.

From this time ceased the Roman empire in Britain, four hundred and sixty-five years after the arrival of Julius Cæsar.

XXXIX. 4446. The Roman legion retiring from Britain, and refusing to return, the Scots and Picts ravaged all the island from the north as far as the wall, the guards of which being slain, taken prisoners, or driven away, and the wall itself broken through, the predatory enemy then poured into the country. An epistle was sent filled with tears and sorrows to Fl. Ætius thrice consul, in the twenty-third year of Theodosius, begging the assistance of the Roman power, but without effect.

CHAPTER II.

I. HAVING followed truth as far as possible, if any thing should occur not strictly consistent with it, I request it may not be imputed to me as a fault. Confining myself closely to the rules and laws of history, I have collected all the accounts of other persons which I found most accurate and deserving of credit. The reader must not expect any thing beyond an enumeration of those emperors and Roman governors who had authority over this island. With an account of these I shall close my book.

II. Julius Cæsar the dictator was the first of the Romans who invaded Britain with an army, during the reign of Cassibelinus; but, although he defeated the inhabitants in one battle, and occupied the coast, as Tacitus observes, he rather seems to have shown the way to his successors than to have given them possession.

III. In a short time the civil wars succeeding, the arms of the chiefs were turned against the republic. Britain was also long neglected by the advice of Augustus and the command of Tiberius. It is certain that Caligula intended to enter Britain; but his quick temper and proneness to

change, or the unsuccessful attempts against the Germans, prevented him.

IV. Claudius, however, carried war into Britain which no Roman emperor since Julius Cæsar had reached, and, having transported his legions and allies without danger or bloodshed, in a few days reduced a part of the island. He afterwards sent over Vespasian, at that time in a private station, who fought two-and-thirty battles with the enemy, and added to the Roman empire two very powerful nations, with their kings, twenty cities, and the isle of Vecta, contiguous to Britain. He overcame the remainder by means of Cneas Sentius and Aulus Plautius. For these exploits he obtained a great triumph.

V. To him succeeded Ostorius Scapula, a man famous in war, who reduced the nearest part of Britain into a province, and added the colony of the veterans, Camalodunum. Certain cities were delivered up to the chief Cogibundus, who, according to Tacitus, remained faithful till the accession of Trajan to the empire.

VI. Avitus Didius Gallus kept possession of what his predecessors had acquired, a few posts only being removed further into the interior, in order to obtain the credit of extending his dominion.

VII. Didius Verannius, who succeeded, died within a year.

VIII. Suetonius Paulinus continued prosperous for two years. The tribes being reduced and garrisons established, he attacked the isle of Mona, because it gave succour to the rebellious, and afforded opportunities for invasion. For the absence of the governor removing all fear, the Britons began to recover courage, and rose in arms under the conduct of Bonduica, a woman of royal descent. Having reduced the troops scattered in the garrisons, they attacked the colony[1] itself, as the seat of slavery, and in the height of rage and victory, exercised every species of savage barbarity. Had not Paulinus, on receiving the intelligence, luckily hastened to crush the revolt, Britain must have been lost. But the fortune of one battle restored it to its former submission. Many of the natives from the consciousness of their defection, and fear of the governor, continued under arms.

IX. Suetonius, in other respects an illustrious man, but arrogant to the vanquished and prompt to avenge his own injuries, being likely to exercise severity, he was replaced by Petronius Turpilianus, who was more merciful, a stranger to the offences of the enemy, and therefore more likely to be softened

[1] Camalodunum.

by their repentance. Having settled the disturbances, he gave up the province to Trebellius Maximus.

X. Trebellius being of a slothful disposition and unused to war, retained the province by gentleness. The barbarians' and Britons' ceasing to be ignorant of luxury, and the termination of civil wars, gave him an excuse for inactivity. But discord called forth his exertions; for the soldiery, when released from military labours, grew wanton from too much rest. Trebellius having evaded the rage of the army by flight, was shortly allowed to resume the command, the licentiousness of the soldiery becoming as it were a composition for the safety of the general. This sedition ended without bloodshed.

XI. Nor did Vectius Bolanus, although the civil wars still continued, harass Britain by restoring discipline. There was the same inactivity towards the enemy, and the same insubordination in the garrisons; but Bolanus, being a good man and not disliked, acquired affection instead of authority.

XII. But when, with the rest of the world, Vespasian had recovered Britain, we see distinguished generals, famous armies, and the enemy dispirited: Petilius Cerealis immediately excited terror by attacking the state of the Brigantes, which was esteemed the most populous of the province. Many bat-

tles were fought, some of which were bloody, and a great part of the Brigantian territory was either conquered or invaded.

XIII. But although Cerealis had diminished the care and fame of his successor, the burthen was sustained by Julius Frontinus, a man of high courage. Overcoming at once the spirit of the enemy and the difficulties of the country, he subjugated the warlike and powerful nation of the Silures.

XIV. To him succeeded Agricola, who not only maintained the peace of the province; but for seven years carried on war against the Caledonians and their warlike king Galgacus. He thus added to the Roman empire nations hitherto unknown.

XV. But Domitian envying the superior glory of Agricola, recalled him, and sent his lieutenant Lucullus into Britain, because he had suffered lances of a new form, *Lucculeas*, to be named after him.

XVI. His successor was Trebellius, under whom the two provinces namely Vespasiana and Maæta were wrested from the Roman government; for the Romans gave themselves up to luxury.

XVII. About this time the emperor Hadrian visiting this island, erected a wall justly wonderful, and left Julius Severus his deputy in Britain.

XVIII. From this time nothing worthy of attention is related, until Antoninus Pius carried on so many wars by his generals. He conquered the Britons by means of Lollius Urbicus, the proprætor, and Saturninus præfect of the fleet, and, the barbarians being driven back, another wall was built. He recovered the province afterwards called Valentia.

XIX. Pius dying, Aurelius Antoninus gained many victories over the Britons and Germans.

XX. On the death of Antoninus, when the Romans deemed their acquisitions insufficient, they suffered a great defeat under Marcellus.

XXI. To him succeeded Pertinax, who conducted himself as an able general.

XXII. The next was Clodius Albinus, who contended with Severus for the sceptre and purple.

XXIII. After these the first who enjoyed the title of lieutenant was Virius Lupus: he did not perform many splendid actions; for his glory was intercepted by the unconquerable Severus, who, having rapidly put the enemy to flight, repaired the wall of Hadrian, now become ruinous, and restored it to its former perfection. Had he lived, he intended to extirpate the very name of the barbarians, but he died by the

visitation of God, among the Brigantes, in the city of Eboracum.

XXIV. Alexander succeeded, who gained some victories in the east, and died at Edessa.

XXV. His successors were the lieutenants Lucilianus, M. Furius, N. Philippus * * * * * * * * * who, if we except the preservation of the boundaries, performed hardly any thing worthy of notice.

XXVI. Afterwards * * * * *

The rest is wanting.

COMMENTARY

ON

THE ITINERARY.

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J. White

COMMENTARY

ON

THE ITINERARY.

No people are so barbarous as to be totally destitute of the means of internal communication; and in proportion as they become more civilized and have more intercourse with other nations, these means are augmented and facilitated. By the early accounts of the Britons it appears that they maintained a considerable foreign commerce, that they had formed towns or large communities, and used chariots for warlike, and undoubtedly for civil purposes. Hence it is evident that their internal communications must have been free and numerous. We need not therefore be surprised, if, after the lapse of so many centuries, marks of such British roads appear even at present to a careful observer, differing in many respects from the roads subsequently made by the Romans, and traversing the island in every direction.

These antient ways may be distinguished from those made by the Romans by unequivocal marks.

I. They are not raised nor paved, nor always straight; but often wind along the tops or sides of the chains of hills which lie in their course.

II. They do not lead to Roman towns, or notice such towns, except when placed on the sites of British fortresses.

III. They are attended by tumuli like those of the Romans; but usually throw out branches, which, after running parallel for some miles, are reunited to the original stem.

When the Romans obtained a footing in this island, they directed all their operations, according to their practice, by military principles. They civilized indeed as they conquered, but conquest was their principal object. Hence, as each tribe was successively subdued, they fortified such primary posts as were best adapted to support their future operations, established secondary posts to secure their communications, and connected the whole by military ways. From local circumstances, and the principles of war, their primary posts were either at or near the sites of the British towns, or on the principal rivers. If therefore the British towns and trackways were suited to their purposes, they adopted them; if not, they constructed others. But both their towns and roads differed materially from those of the original inhabitants. The Romans in their towns or fortresses followed the system of their own castrametation, in like manner as in modern warfare the construction of permanent and temporary works is guided by the same general principles. These towns are of a regular figure, bounded by lines as straight as the shape of the ground will permit, generally square or oblong, and consisting commonly in a single wall and ditch, unless in positions peculiarly dangerous, or where local circumstances rendered additional defences necessary. On the contrary the British towns, which were occupied by the Romans, although irregularly shaped, still partake of their original figure.

Specimens of the first kind, or perfect Roman towns, may be

seen in Colchester, Winchester, Caerleon, Caerwent, Castor near Norwich, and all the military stations bordering on the wall of Severus. Of the latter in Bath, Silchester, Kentchester, Canterbury, and other places.

Similar marks of difference between the original British trackways and the Roman roads appear in the Foss, and the Iknield Street;—the latter, during the greater part of its course, keeping along the chain of hills which lay in its way, not leading decidedly to Roman towns, throwing out parallel branches, attended always with tumuli, still bearing its British name, and appearing from its direction to have been made rather for commercial than military purposes.

On the other hand the adopted roads, but more especially those made by the Romans themselves, are distinguished by peculiar marks. Posts or towns are placed on them at nearly regular distances, seldom exceeding twenty miles, the length of a single march, and also at the point where two roads intersect each other, or where several roads diverge*. These roads are elevated with surprising labour to the height of ten feet, and sometimes even more, instances of which may be seen on the heath near Woodyates Inn in Dorsetshire, near Old Sarum on the side of Ford, in Chute Park, Wilts, between Ancaster and Lincoln, and still more remarkably on Bramham Moor, near Tadcaster in Yorkshire. They were formed of materials often brought from a considerable distance, such as chalk, pebbles, or gravel; and the most considerable are paved with stones, which are visible to this day. Tumuli also,

* This system is formed on the same principles as that of modern fortification.

which seem to have been the direction-posts of antiquity, attended their course, and occur in almost every instance where a road descends a hill, approaches a station, or throws off a branch. Another peculiarity of the Roman ways is their straight direction, from which they seldom deviate, except to avoid a rapid ascent or descent, to throw off another road, or to approach a station, which, from the circumstances before mentioned, had been fixed out of the general line. Of this there is a curious instance where the Foss, in approaching Cirencester from the north, meets the Akeman Street, bearing to the same point from the north-east, and evidently bends out of its course to join and enter the station with it.

Of many of the Roman roads, not only in England, but in the greater part of the Roman empire, an account has been preserved under the name of the Itinerary of Antoninus, which specifies the towns or stations on each road, and shows the distances between them. This record was long supposed to be a public directory or guide for the march of soldiers; but if this were the case, it is extremely confused and imperfect. It often omits in one *Iter* or journey towns which are directly in its course, and yet specifies them in another, as may be seen in the first, second, sixth, and eighth Iters. It traces the same road more than once, and passes unnoticed some of the most remarkable roads in the island, namely a great part of the Foss, and the whole of the *Via Devana* (a road from Colchester to Chester). Hence this Itinerary has been more justly considered as the heads of a journal formed by some traveller or officer, who visited the different parts of the empire from business or duty; and, as Mr. Reynolds conjectures with great appearance of probability, in the suite of the emperor Adrian. In

this light it may be considered as copious, and the advantages which it has afforded to the antiquary will be gratefully and universally acknowledged. Still, however, from the incoherence which appears in that part relating to our island, and from the mutilated copies which have been found, there is reason to imagine that the whole of this interesting record has not escaped the ravages of time.

Such an itinerary, but varying in many respects from that of Antonine, is one of the most important parts of the work now presented to the reader.

In fixing the sites of the towns specified in these Itineraries, our antiquaries have assumed the most unjustifiable latitude. The mere resemblance of a name was considered as a reason sufficient to outweigh all others; even the great Camden suffered himself to be misled by this resemblance, in fixing Ariconium at Kentchester, Camalodunum at Maldon, Bennavenna at Bensford, Pons Ælii at Pont Eland, and Ad-Pontem at Paunton. The explanation of the names to suit the supposed situation has been another fruitful source of error; not only British and Latin, but Saxon, Greek, and even Hebrew, have been exhausted to discover significant appellations; and where one language was not sufficient, half a word has been borrowed from one language and half from another to support a favourite hypothesis *.

The commentary now presented to the reader is founded on the following principles.

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* On this subject it may not be improper to observe, that the name of Castor, Cester, or Chester, generally points out a Roman station; and Sarn, Street, Stane and Stone, (Strat, and Stan, when compounded) as generally show the course of a British or Roman way.

I. The vestiges of roads actually existing are taken as much as possible for guides; and the extremes or direction of each Iter, ascertained from two or more undoubted stations, or other unequivocal proofs.

II. In general, no place is regarded as the site of a Roman station, unless fixed Roman remains, such as buildings, baths, &c. are found at or near it; and unless it is situated on, or near the line of a Roman road.

III. An exception has, however, been sometimes unavoidably made to this rule. After the Romans had established their power, and completed their system of internal communication, they undoubtedly lessened the number of their garrisons, to avoid either too great a division of their force, or to reduce that part of it which was necessarily stationary. Hence we have sometimes considered the direction of the road, and the general distance, as sufficient data for determining a station or stations, either when they were situated between two considerable fortified points, or when covered by others on every side; because it is probable such posts were merely temporary, and were dilapidated or demolished, even before the decline of the Roman power.

IV. In assigning a specific Roman name to a place, it has not been deemed sufficient that fixed antiquities or other equivalent evidence prove a town to have existed on the spot, unless the order of the names, and the distances marked in the Itinerary, justify the appellation.

V. Where the line of the Roman road is tolerably perfect, no station is sought far from it, except where the excess of the Itinerary over the real distance, or accurate measurement, affords sufficient authority for the deviation.

VI. The numbers which determine the distances being written in Roman numerals, which gave great latitude for errors* and substitutions, recourse has been had to this rule.

Where the road still exists, the whole intermediate space between two stations already determined, has been examined to discover what places, from their relative distance, from their site, or the antiquities found in them, have the fairest claim to be considered as Roman posts; and to such places the names have been affixed according to the evidence afforded in the Itinerary.

After this development of the principles on which we have proceeded in our examination, it is necessary to add a few observations on the Roman mile, the standard of measurement used in compiling the Itineraries; because many difficulties in determining the stations arise from our uncertainty respecting its real length. It may indeed appear easy to ascertain this point, by a careful measurement of the space between two miliary columns, still existing on any known Roman road. But in Britain such an experiment has been hitherto impracticable; for the columns in our island have been so universally defaced or removed, that, far from two existing on the same road, only one has been found† whose original situation is known with any degree of certainty. In France and Italy many of these columns still exist, and Danville has adduced three instances in Languedoc, in which the distances between

* For example these marks ''''', being the mutilated parts of numerals, might have been easily transformed by the copyist into IIIII. XIII. VIII. XVI. XIX. or XXI. and single numerals might have been omitted, as XX. and XXIII. for XIX. and XXXIII.

† Near Leicester.

them accurately measured amounted in one to 756, in another to 753, and in a third to 752 toises and two feet. The average 754 toises and two feet, seems to determine the length of the Roman mile with sufficient precision; and the result is confirmed by a comparison with the Roman foot, still preserved in the capitol; for the exact length of the miles between the miliary columns on the Appian way, in the neighbourhood of Rome, as measured by Bianchini, was 5010 of these Roman feet, which reduced to toises is 756 toises 4 feet and a half. From these results Danville estimates the Roman mile at 755 toises, or 1593 yards* English measure.

Unfortunately this mensuration does not lessen the difficulties of the English antiquary; for the distance between any two of our known stations, if measured by this standard, disagrees in almost every instance with the numbers of the Itineraries. Different conjectures have been advanced to solve this difficulty. One, supported by the respectable authority of Horsley, is, that the Romans measured only the horizontal distance, without regarding the inequalities of the surface; or that the space between station and station was ascertained from maps accurately constructed. This idea receives some support from a fact acknowledged by every British antiquary, namely, that the Itinerary miles bear a regular proportion to the English miles on plains, but fall short of them in hilly grounds. Another opinion is, that the Itinerary miles were not measured by an invariable standard, but in the distant provinces were derived from the common measures of the country. In support of this conjecture a supposed coincidence between the com-

* Hist. de l'Academie, T. 88. p. 661.

puted and measured miles, noticed by Horsley and others, has been adduced; but if this were the case, there would not be so exact a conformity between the miles of France and Italy as appears in the instance before mentioned.

To all these difficulties another is added by the compilers of the Itineraries, who never reckoned the fraction of a mile, but stated the amount in round numbers; Antonine frequently including the fraction at one station, and Richard at the next. From these causes, and from the frequent corruptions of the numbers, it is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the exact space even between any two posts which are sufficiently near to afford a foundation for a correct measurement. The distances of the British Itinerary, if taken alone, will therefore afford but little certain help to the antiquary in determining doubtful stations, though, when supported by the other proofs of antiquity before enumerated, the evidence they furnish may justly be deemed conclusive.

To remove, however, as many causes of error as possible, considerable pains have been taken to correct the numbers, by a comparison of all the earliest and most authentic copies of the Itinerary. These are

The Itinerary of Talbot, published in Leland's works.

That of Camden.

Two copies by Harrison, published first in Holingshed, and republished by Burton.

That of Gale.

That of Surita, who collated five copies, four of which he thus designates:—

1. Bibliothecæ Regiæ ad D. Laurent. vetustiss. Codex Ovetensis Æra IↃCCCCXX descriptus.

2. Bibliothecæ Blandiniæ pervetustus codex a CCCC. circiter annus transcriptus.

3. Bibliothecæ Neapolitanorum Regum qui post cardinalis de Ursinis fuit anno M. CCCCXXVII. exscriptus.

4. Christophori Longolii exemplar ab H. Stephano. Parisiis editum, anno M. IↃXII.

As the Roman posts and roads were in a great degree connected with, or derived from, the British towns and trackways, we proceed to trace first the course of the British roads which still exist, and to specify the towns whose sites are known, premising that of the ninety-two capital towns of the Britons commemorated by historians, the names of only eighty-eight have been preserved.

The British ways were,—

1. The WATLING STREET, or Irish road, in two branches, northern and southern.

2. The IKNIELD STREET, or road of the Iceni, the inhabitants of the eastern coast.

3. The RYKNIELD STREET, leading through the country of the Upper Iceni or Coritani.

4. The ERMYN STREET, leading from the coast of Sussex to the south-east part of Scotland.

5. The AKEMAN STREET, or intermediate road between the Iknield and Ryknield Street.

6. The UPPER SALT-WAY, leading from the salt-mines at Droitwich to the coast of Lincolnshire.

7. The LOWER SALT-WAY, leading from the same mines to the south-eastern coast.

8. A road which appears to have skirted the western coast, as the Ermyn Street did the eastern.

Besides these, there is reason to conjecture from several detached pieces, that another road followed the shores round the island.

WATLING STREET.

The south-eastern branch of the Watling Street proceeded from Richborough on the coast of Kent, to Canterbury; and from thence, nearly in the line of the present turnpike, towards Rochester. It left that city to the right, passed the Medway by a ford, and ran almost straight, through lord Darnley's park, to Southfleet. It bent to the left to avoid the marshes near London, continued along a road now lost to Holwood Hill, the capital of the Rhemi, and then followed the course of the present road to London.—Having crossed the Thames, it ran by Edgeware to Verulam; and from thence, with the present great Irish road, through Dunstable and Towcester to Weedon. Hence, instead of bending to the left, with the present turnpike, it proceeded straight by Dovebridge, High Cross, Fazeley, Wall, and Wellington, to Wroxeter. It then passed the Severn, and continued by Rowton, Pen y Pont, and Bala, to Tommen y Mawr, where it divided into two branches. One ran by Bath Kellert to Caernarvon and Anglesea, the other by Dolwyddelan, through the mountains to the banks of the Menai, where it joined the north-eastern branch (which will be presently described), and ended at Holy Head, the great port of the Irish.

In its course are the British towns *Rhutupis*, Richborough, *Durovernum*, Canterbury, *Durobrivæ*, Rochester, *Noviomagus*, Holwood Hill, *Trinobantum*, London, *Verolamium*, St. Albans, *Durocobrivæ*, Dunstable, *Uriconium*, Wroxeter, *Mediolanum* on the

banks of the Tanad, *Segontium*, Caer Segont, and possibly a town, of which the name is lost, at Holy Head.

The north-western branch of the Watling Street, coming from the interior of Scotland by Cramond and Jedburgh, enter England at Chew Green, and continues by Riechester to Corbridge. There, crossing the Tyne, it ran through Ebchester, Lanchester, and Binchester, and passed the Tees by a ford near Pierce Bridge. Hence it went by Catterick, Newton, Masham, and Kirby Malside to Ilkley, and near Halifax to Manchester. Over the moors between these two last places it is called the Devil's Causeway. From Manchester, where it passed the Mersey, it proceeded by Street, Northwich, Chester, Caerhun, and over the mountains to Aber, where it fell into the south-western branch, in its course to Holy Head.

On it were the British towns, *Bremenium*, Riechester, *Epiacum*, Lanchester, *Vinovium*, Binchester, *Cataractonis*, Catterick, *Olicana*, Ilkley, and *Deva*, Chester.

THE IKNIELD STREET,

Or road of the Iceni, proceeds from the coast near Great Yarmouth. Passing through Taesborough, it runs by Icklingham and Newmarket, and, skirting the chain of hills which stretches through Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire, continues by Bournbridge to Icoldon and Royston (where it intersects the Ermin Street). Thence it proceeds by Baldock, over Wilbury Hill, to Dunstable (where it crosses the Watling Street), Tring, Wendover, Elsborough, near Richborough Chinor, Watlington, Woodcote, and Goring, and, passing the Thames at Streetly, throws off a collateral branch, which will be noticed under the name of the

RIDGEWAY. From hence it proceeded, as Stukeley imagined, by Aldworth, Newbury Street, Ashmansworth, Tangley, and Tidworth, to Old Sarum. Thence by the two Stratfords, across Verndítch Chase, Woodyates Inn, the Gussages, Badbury, Shapwick, Shitterton, Maiden Castle, Eggardon, Bridport, Axminster, Honiton, Exeter, Totness, &c., to the Land's End.

The collateral branch called the RIDGEWAY, ran from Stretly along the hills, by Cuckhamsley Hill, Whitehorse Hill, and Ashbury, towards Abury, from whence its course is unknown. Possibly it ran towards Glastonbury. From Elworthy barrows, above Taunton, it passes south-westerly into Devonshire, and from Stretton in Cornwall, it kept along the ridge of hills to Redruth and the Land's End.

The British towns on this way were *Ad Taum*, Taesborough, the antient capital of the Iceni Magni, *Durocobrivæ*, Dunstable, *Sorbiodunum*, Old Sarum, *Durinum*, probably Maiden Castle, *Isca*, Exeter, *Tamara*, a post on the Tamar, *Voluba* on the Fowey, and *Cenia* on the Fal.

On the Ridgeway, possibly *Avalenia*, Glastonbury, *Termolus*, by some supposed to be Molland in Devon, *Artavia*, *Musidum*, near Stratton, and *Halangium*, Cambré.

RYKNIELD STREET,

Or street of the upper Iceni, said to begin at the mouth of the Tyne, ran by Chester le Street to Binchester, where it joined the Watling Street, and continued with it to Catterick. Then, bearing more easterly, it ran with the present great northern road to within two miles of Borough Bridge, where it left the turnpike to the right, and crossed the Eure to Aldborough. From thence it went

by Coptgrave, Ribston, Spofforth, through Stokeld Park, to Thorner, Medley, Foleby, Bolton, Graesborough, Holme, Great Brook near Tretown, Chesterfield, Alfreton, Little Chester, Egginton, to Burton, and Wall (where it crossed the Watling Street). Thence through Sutton Colfield, to Birmingham, King's Norton, Alchester, Bitford, Sedgebarrow, Tewkesbury, Glocester, Lidney, Chepstow, and probably by Abergavenny, Brecon, Landilo, and Caermarthen to St. David's.

It passed the British towns of *Vinovium*, Binchester, *Cataracton*, Catterick, *Isurium*, Aldborough, *Etocetum*, Wall, *Alauna*, Alcester, *Glevum*, Glocester, *Maridunum*, Caermarthen; and *Menapia*, St. David's.

THE ERMYN STREET

Came from the eastern side of Scotland, and, crossing the Tweed west of Berwick, ran near Wooler, Hedgely, Brumpton, Brinkburn, Netherwitten, Hartburn, and Rial, to Corbridge, where it joined the North Watling Street. Passing with that Way the two great rivers the Tyne and the Tees, it continued to Catterick, where it divided into two branches.

The western branch went with the Rykneld Street as far as Aldborough, and then, leaving that way to the right, proceeded by Little Ousebourn, to Helensford, over Bramham Heath, to Aberford, Castleford, Houghton, Stapleton, Adwick, Doncaster, Bawtry, and probably by Tuxford, Southwell, and over the Trent to Thorp, (where it passed the Foss) Staunton, and Stainby, where it joined the Eastern branch. This branch ran from Catterick by North Allerton, Thirsk, Easingwold, Stamford Bridge, Market Weighton and South Cave, and, crossing the Humber, continued by Wintringham, Lincoln, and Ancaster, to near Witham, when it was reunited

with the western branch above mentioned. Both continued to Brig Casterton, near Stamford, Chesterton, Stilton, Godmanchester, Royston (where it crossed the Icknield Street), Buntingford, Puckeridge, Ware Park, west of Broxbourn, Cheshunt, Enfield, Wood Green, and London. Here it again divided into two branches. The more westerly went by Darking, Coldharbour, Stone Street, and Pulborough to Chichester; while the easterly was continued by Bromley, Holwood Hill, Tunbridge Wells, Wadhurst, Mayfield, and Eastbourn, to Pevensey.

On it were the British towns *Vinovium*, Binchester, *Cataractonis*, Catterick, *Isurium*, Aldborough, *Lindum*, Lincoln, *Durnomagus*, Castor near Peterborough, *Trinovantum*, London, *Regentium* or *Regnum*, Chichester, *Noviomagus*, Holwood Hill, and *Anderida Portus*, Pevensey.

AKEMAN STREET

Appears to have passed from the eastern side of the island, probably by Bedford, Newport Pagnel, Stony Stratford, and Buckingham (or as others think by Fenny Stratford and Winsborough), to Alcester. It then ran by Kirklington, Woodstock, Stonefield, Astall, and Coln St. Alwin's, to Cirencester, Rodmarton, Cherrington, Bagspath and Symonds' Hall. From thence it is said to be continued by Cromehall to Aust, where, passing the Severn, it probably ran through Caerwent, Caerleon, and along the coast by Caerdiff, Neath, Lwghor, to Caermarthen, and the Irish port at St. David's.

The British towns were *Corinum*, Cirencester, *Venta Silurum*, Caerwent, *Isca*, Caerleon, *Maridunum*, Caermarthen, and *Menapia*, St. David's.

THE UPPER SALT-WAY,

Which appears to have been the communication between the sea coast of Lincolnshire and the Salt-mines at Droitwich. It is first known as leading from the neighbourhood of Stainsfield, towards Paunton and Denton, and then running not far from Saltby and Croxton, is continued straight by Warmby and Grimston, to Sedgehill on the Foss. Here it appears to bear towards Barrow on the Soar, and crossing Charnwood Forest, is again seen at Stretton on the borders of Warwickshire, from whence it is easily traced to Birmingham and over the Lickey to Droitwich.

British town *Salinæ*, Droitwich.

The SECOND SALT-WAY is little known, although the parts here described have been actually traced. It came from Droitwich, crossed Worcestershire under the name of the SALT-WAY, appears to have passed the Avon, somewhere below Evesham, tended towards the chain of hills above Sudeley Castle, where it is still visible, attended by *tumuli* as it runs by Hawling. Thence it proceeds to Northleach, where it crossed the Foss, in its way to Coln St. Aldwin's, on the Akeman Street, and led to the sea coast of Hampshire.

Venta Belgarum, Winchester, and *Portus Magnus*, Porchester, or *Clausentum*, Bittern near Southampton—were probably situated in its course.

In many places are vestiges of a continued road skirting the western side of the island, in the same manner as the Ermyn Street did the eastern, of which parts were never adopted by the Romans. There is great reason to suppose it British, because it connects many of the British towns. It appears to have commenced on the coast of Devon, perhaps not far from the mouth of the Ex, and to have gone by Exeter, Taunton, Bridgewater, Bristol, Glocester, Kid-

derminster, Claverley, Weston, High Offley, Betley, Middlewich, Northwich, Warrington, Preston, Lancaster. Here probably dividing into two branches, one ran by Kendal, Penrith, and Carlisle, to the extreme parts of the island, while the other passed, by Kirby Lonsdale and Orton, to Kirby Thure, from whence it continued under the name of the MAIDEN-WAY, by the Wall and Bewcastle into the interior parts of Scotland.

On this Street were *Isca*, Exeter, *Uxella*, possibly near Bridgewater, *Glevum*, Glocester, *Branogenium*, Worcester, *Salinæ*, Droitwich, *Coccium*, Blackrode, and *Lugubalium*, Carlisle.

Besides these, and the separate communications between the different towns, there is reason to imagine that a general road ran round the whole coast of the island, parts of which have been observed near the southern coast of Dorsetshire, particularly from Abbotsbury to the isle of Purbeck; likewise in Hampshire, along Portsdown Hill; and from Old Winchester through Sussex, on the tops of the hills between Midhurst and Chichester, to Arundel and Brighthelmstone. Also in Essex from Maldon to Colchester, and in Suffolk by Stretford, Ipswich, Stretford, and Blythburgh, to the banks of the Yar. In Lincolnshire are two branches, one running clearly from Tattersal, by Horncastle, Ludford, Stainton, Caistor, and Somerby, and a second nearer the coast from Lowth towards Brocklesby, and both tending to the passage of the Humber, not far from Barton. Also along the principal part of the coast through Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland. On the western side of the island it appears to have passed on the hills which skirt the northern coast of Devonshire and Somersetshire, and possibly might be traced through Wales and towards Scotland.

RICHARD, ITER I.			SITES OF THE STATIONS.
(1*) A Rhutupi ducta est "*Via Guethelinga*" dicta, usque in Segontium, per m.p. CCCXXIIII plus minus, sic :—			From Richborough to Caer Segont, by the Watling Street.
		corrected numbers.	
(2) Cantiopoli quæ et Duroverno	X	XI	Canterbury.
(3) Durosevo[1]	XII	XII	Stone Chaple in Ospringe.
(4) Duroprovis	XXV	XVI	Rochester.
Deinde m. p. transis Thamesin intrasque provinciam et civitatem	XXVII	XXVII	
(5) Londinium Augustam			London.
(6) Sulo Mago[2]	VIIII	XII	On the site of Mr. Napier's house at Brockley Hill.
(7) Verolamio Municipio Unde fuit Amphibalus et Albanus, martyres.	XII	VIIII	Verulam.
(8) Foro Dianæ	XII	XII	Dunstable.
(9) Magio Vinio	XII	XII	Old Fields, S. of Fenny Stratford.
(10) Lactorodo	XII	XVI	Berry Mount, in Towcester.
(11) Isanta Varia[3]	XII	XII	Burnt walls near Daventry.
(12) Tripontio[4]	XII	XII	Near Lilbourn.
(13) Benonis[5]	VIIII	VIIII	High Cross.
Hic bisecatur Via; alterutrumque ejus brachium Lindum usque, alterum versus Viriconium protenditur, sic :—			
(14) Manduessuedo[6]	XII	XII	Manceter.
(15) Etoceto	XIII	XVI	Wall.
(16) Pennocruoio	XII	XII	On the Penk.
(17) Uxaconia	XII	XII	Red Hill near Okenyate.
(18) Virioconio	XI	XI	Wroxeter.
(19) Banchorio	XXVI	XXVI	probably Banchor.
(20) Deva Colonia Fines Flaviæ et Secundæ	X	XV	Chester.
(21) Varis	XXX	XXVII	Banks of the Clwydd near Bodfari.
(22) Conovio	XX	XX	Caer Hûn.
(23) Segontio	XXIIII	XXIIII	Caer Segont near Caernarvon.

* These figures mark the stations as they are numbered in the map annexed.

[1] Durelevo, Iter 15. [2] Sulloniacis, *Stu.* [3] Iter 8 inv. Isannavaria. [4] Tripontio XII. [5] Benonis XII. [6] Iter 18 inv. Manduessuedo XII. Etoceto XVI.

ANTONINE, ITER II.		VARIOUS READINGS OF ANTONINE.
Ad Portum Rhutupas.		
Durovernum	XII	
Durolevum	XII	XVI.
Durobrivim	XVI	XIII. XIV. XII.
Londinium	XXVIII	
Iter 2 inv.		
Sulloniacim	XII	
Verulamium	VIIII	X. XI. Iter 6, XXII.
Durocobrivim	XII	
Mavigiovintum	XII	
Lactodorum	XVII	XII. Iter 6, XVI.
Bennavennam Iter 6 Isanta Vatia	XII	Bennavennam.— Magiovintum, XXIII. Iter 8. Bennavennam omitted in Harrison's 1st copy.
Tripontium	XII	
Venonim	VIIII	Bennavennam—Vennonim, XVI. XVII. Iter 2 inv.
Iter 2 inv.		
Manduessuedum	XII	
Etocetum	XVI	VI.
Pennocrucium	XII	
Uxaconam	XII	
Virioconium	XI	
Iter 11 inv.		
Devam Leg. XX vict.	X	
Varim	XXXII	
Conovium	XIX	
Segontium	XXIIII	

The first Iter having run uniformly on the traces of the British Watling Street before described (except the small distance from Southfleet to London), and the road remaining tolerably perfect, there can be little difficulty in fixing the several stations, or indeed in correcting the sometimes corrupted numbers of the Itinerary. It begins at RICHBOROUGH, and although at present obscure from the improved cultivation of the country, may be easily traced to CANTERBURY, from whence it went in the direction of the present turnpike to ROCHESTER, leaving the intermediate station at STONE CHAPLE, in Ospringe, a little to the left-hand. At ROCHESTER it passed the Medway, considerably above the present bridge, and instead of running to the right with the modern turnpike, it went as straight as the nature of the ground would permit, by Cobham Park, and Shinglewell, to Barkfields in Southfleet (the station *Vagniacis* in Antonine), then to Swanscombe Parkwood, through which it passed, and rejoined the Dover road between the fifteenth and sixteenth milestone, near Dartford Brent. Hence it went by Shooter's Hill over the Thames to LONDON; and then, as before mentioned, by the site of Mr. Napier's House at BROCKLEY HILL, VERULAM, DUNSTABLE, FENNY STRATFORD, TOWCESTER, BURNT WALLS*, near LILBOURNE, HIGH CROSS, MANCETER, WALL, OKENYATE, to WROXETER. Here, quitting the south-west branch of the Watling Street, it bore to the right by Uffington, Broughton, Overley, Hammer, and Sarn Bridge to BANCHOR; and from thence ran clearly by Stockach and Aldford over the Dee to CHESTER.

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* Burnt Walls was the Roman post of *Isannavaria*; Borough Hill, on the hill above it, was the great British fortification *Bennavenna*.

The Roman road here joining the North-east Watling Street, before mentioned, continued with it to Bodfari, and crossing Denbighshire went over the Conway to Caer Hôn; and is supposed to have run as straight as the country would permit, to Caer Segont, about half a mile south of Caernarvon.

RICHARD, Iter II.			Sites of the Stations.
(23) A Segontio Virioconium usque, m. p. LXXIII. sic :—			From Caer Segont to Wroxeter.
		corrected numbers.	
(24) Heriri Monte	XXV	XXV	Tommen y Mur in Maentrwg.
(25) Mediolano	XXV	XXVII	On the bank of the Tanad.
(26) Rutunio	XII	XVI	Rowton.
(18) Virioconio	XI	XI	Wroxeter.

This Iter runs on a branch of the South-east Watling Street, from Caer Segont, nearly in the direction of the present road to Tommen y Mur, an undoubted station in the parish of Maentrwg, by the common name of Sarn Helen, or the "paved way of the Legion." From hence it is continued to Bala, and on the banks of the Tanad, not far from the point where it is intersected by the Roman road from Caersws to Chester, was probably the lost town of *Mediolanum*. From *Mediolanum* the road runs under the north end of the Brythen, straight although obscurely, to Rowton, and from thence over the Severn to Wroxeter.

RICHARD, Iter III.			Sites of the Stations.
(5) A Londinio Lindum coloniam usque, sic :—			From London to Lincoln.
		corrected numbers.	
(27) Durosito	XII	XII	Near Rumford.
(28) Cæsaro Mago	XVI	XVI	Near Chelmsford.
(29) Canonio	XV	XV	On the east of Kelvedon.
(30) Camaloduno Colonia Ibi erat templum Claudii, arx triumphalis, et imago Victoriæ deæ	VIIII	VIIII	Colchester.
(31) Ad Sturium amnem Et finibus Trinobantum Cenimannos advenis	VI	VI	Banks of the Stour.
(32) Cambretonio	XV		
(33) Sito Mago	XXII		
(34) Venta Cenom.	XXIII		Castor near Norwich.
. . . . . [1]	. . . .		
(35) Camborico Colonia	XX		North side of the Cam, Cambridge.
(36) Duraliponte[2]	XX	XV	Godmanchester.
(37) Durno Mago[3]	XX	XX	Castor Durobrivis was Chesterton on the Nen near it.
(38) Isinis[4]	XX	XXV	Ancaster.
(39) Lindo[5]	XX	XXI	Lincoln.

[1] Icianis XXVIII. *Stukeley.* [2] Durolisponte, Iter 17. [3] Iter 17, XXX.
[4] Corisennis XXX. Iter 17. [5] Iter 17, XXX.

ANTONINE, ITER IX.		VARIOUS READINGS OF ANTONINE.
Durolitum	XV	V.
Cæsaromagum	XVI	XXVI.
Canonium	XII	
Camalodunum	VIIII	VIII.
Ad Ansam	VI	
Combretonium	XV	
Sitomagum	XXII	
Venta Icenorum	XXXI	XXXII.
Iter 5.		
Icianos		
Camboricum	XXXV	
Durolipontem	XXV	XVIII.
Durobrivas	XXXV	
Causennim	XXX	XX.
Lindum	XXVI	XXXVI. XXX.

As it is fifty-one measured miles from LONDON to COLCHESTER; and as it is probable that the stone from whence the Roman miles were measured was at least one mile west of Whitechapel church, we cannot allow any material deviation from the course of the present road, except in the neighbourhood of the capital, where the Roman road, instead of passing through Mile End, went much straighter over the Lee at Oldford, and fell again into the course of the present turnpike at Stratford. The Itinerary allowing only fifty-two miles between LONDON and COLCHESTER, and the fifth Iter of Antonine agreeing with this of Richard, by stating twenty-eight as the distance between London and *Cæsaromagus*, we may implicitly adopt the distances here given, and fix the intermediate stations near RUMFORD, CHELMSFORD, and KELVEDON. From COLCHESTER the road ran to the STOUR, where probably stood the Mansio *ad Ansam*. From hence to CASTOR near Norwich (the *Venta Icenorum*) the stations and course of the road are unknown. Some commentators have supposed it ran westerly by Brettenham and Thetford; others by Ipswich, Stowmarket, and Scole Inn, and others have carried it more easterly by Ipswich and Blythburgh, or Dunwich, to the capital of the Iceni. In favour of the first there is merely the supposed resemblance of the name of Brettenham to *Cambretonium*; of the second, traces of a Roman way called the PYE ROAD; and of the third, a British track-way, and another Roman road called the STONE STREET. But the distances suit none of these sites, and no Roman remains have any where been found, between the Stour and Castor, sufficient to justify an alteration of the numerals.

Icianis may have been ICKLINGHAM; and *Camboricum* was

most probably at Cambridge, from whence there is a Roman road discoverable to Lincoln. To the first station, GODMANCHESTER, this Iter goes on the great communication between Colchester and Chester, which for the sake of distinction may be called the *Via Devana;* and from GODMANCHESTER to LINCOLN, on the eastern branch of the Ermyn Street, which was adopted by the Romans. Twenty miles from GODMANCHESTER, we find the great station of CHESTERTON on one side of the Nen, and CASTOR on the other; which probably gave rise to the two names of *Durobrivæ*, and *Durnomagus*, the Roman and British towns severally noticed by Antonine and Richard. About twenty-five miles further, in the course of the road, which cannot be mistaken, we find ANCASTER, the *Isinnis, Corisennis*, or *Causennis* of the Itineraries, from whence twenty-one additional miles bring us to LINCOLN.

RICHARD, ITER IV.			SITES OF THE STATIONS.
(39) A Lindo ad Vallum usque, sic :—			From Lincoln to the Wall.
		corrected numbers.	
(40) Argolico	XIIII	XIIII	Littleborough.
(41) Dano	XX	XXI	Doncaster.
Ibi intras Maximam Cæsariensem			
(42) Legotio[1]	m. p. XVI	XVI	Castleford.
(43) Eburaco Municip. olim Colonia Sexta[2]	XXI	XXI	York.
(44) Isurio	XVI	XVII	Aldborough.
(45) Cattaractoni[3]	XXIIII	XXIIII	Catterick.
(46) Ad Tisam	X	XII	Pierce Bridge.
(47) Vinovio	XII	X	Binchester.
(48) Epiaco	XVIII	XIIII	Lanchester.
(49) Ad Murum	VIIII	VIIII	Halton Chester on the Wall.
trans Murum intras Valentiam			
(50) Alauna amne	XXV	XXV	Banks of the Coquet.
(51) Tueda flumine	XXX	XXXV	Banks of the Tweed.
(52) Ad Vallum			The Wall.

[1] Legiolio, Iter 18. [2] Iter 5 and 8, Eburaco. [3] Cataractone XL.

The fourth Iter left LINCOLN with the Eastern Ermyn Street, which ran to the Humber, and, after continuing on it about five miles, turned suddenly to the left, pursuing its course in a straight line to the Trent, which it passed immediately opposite to the station of LITTLEBOROUGH. The Roman road may be traced from hence to Austerfield and DONCASTER, where it fell in with the Western Ermyn Street, and is visible all the way by CASTLEFORD, Aberford, and Tadcaster to YORK. In this Iter, the station of Tadcaster is passed unnoticed, as in the former the station of Brig Casterton near Stamford.

ANTONINE, ITER V.		VARIATIONS OF THE NUMERALS IN ANTONINE.
Segelocum Agelocum, Iter 8.	XIIII	XXIIII. Iter 8.
Danum	XXI	
Legeolium	XVI	XXVII.
Eburacum	XXI	
Isurium Isubrigantum Iter 1, inv.	XVII	XVI.
Vinovium	XXII	

From York the Iter is continued along the left bank of the Ouse, till it crossed the river to ALDBOROUGH. From hence rejoining the Western Ermyn Street, it passed the Eure, and ran straight through Catterick to the Tees, which it crossed at Piercebridge. It continued by the Royal Oak, St. Andrew Aukland, and the Bishop's Park, to BINCHESTER, where, after fording the Were, it went with the North Watling Street to LANCHESTER; and, without noticing either Ebchester or Corbridge, over the Tyne to HALTON CHESTER on the Wall. Here separating from the North Watling Street, it ran with the Ermyn Street, now known in Northumberland by the name of the Devil's Causeway, to the bank of the COQUET, and the TWEED, and entering Scotland on the east, was continued to the wall of Antonine.

RICHARD, Iter V.			Sites of the Stations.
(52) A Limite Præturiam usque, sic:—			To Flamborough Head.
		corrected numbers.	
(53) Curia[1]			
(54) Ad fines			Chew Green.
(55) Bremenio		VII	Riechester.
(56) Corstoplio	XX	XXV	Corbridge.
(57) Vindomora	VIIII	VIIII	Ebchester.
(47) Vindovio[2]	XVIIII	XVIIII	Binchester.
(45) Cattaractoni	XXII	XXII	Catterick.
(43) Eboraco	XL	XL	York.
(58) Derventione	VII	VII	On the Derwent near Stamford Bridge.
(59) Delgovicia	[3]XIII		. . . . .
(60) Præturio	[3]XXV	XXXVIII	near Flamborough Head.

[1] Probably Corium, *Stukeley.* [2] Vinovio, It. 4. [3] XXXVIII.

In regard to part of the country traversed by this Iter, there appears to have been so little connection between the work of our author and the map which accompanies it, that we can rely little on the latter either to assist or correct us. This Iter is made to begin from *Curia*, a town probably on the confines of some petty kingdom, and to pass to the first certain post of *Bremenium*, or Riechester. Now, on referring to the map, *Curia* the principal town of the Gadeni, so far from lying on the road which leads to *Bremenium*, the capital of the Ottadini, is considerably to the westward of its course. From this disagreement, commentators have suspected a mistake of the transcriber, and imagine that *Curia* is intended for *Corium*. It is certain, at least, that this Iter, running on the east side of the island, on the track of the Northern Watling Street, enters Northumberland at Chew Green, goes from thence

ANTONINE, ITER I.		VARIATION OF THE NUMERALS IN ANTONINE.
Bremenium		
Corstopilum	XX	
Vindomoram	VIIII	
Vinoviam	XVIIII	
Cattaractonem	XXII	
Isurium	XXIIII	
Eboracum Leg. VI. vict.	XIIII	XVIII. XIII.
Derventionem	VII	
Delgovitiam	XIII	
Prætorium	XXV	

RIBCHESTER (leaving unnoticed the station at Risingham) and runs with it to CORBRIDGE, EBCHESTER, BINCHESTER, CATTERICK, and YORK.

From YORK to FLAMBOROUGH HEAD, a Roman road may still be traced; and as the distance agrees with the Itinerary, and there must have been a Roman post on or near that headland, we should think it more probable that this was the site of *Prœturium* *, although we have not yet discovered the remains of any post on the Derwent, or the intermediate station of *Delgovicia*. So many Roman roads from different quarters point towards Stamford bridge, that there is no doubt the station of *Derventio* was near it.

* This *Prœturium* and the *Prœtorium* of Antonine must be carefully distinguished from the *Petuaria*, mentioned by our author in the 17th Iter, for *Petuaria* was certainly at Brough on the Humber.

RICHARD, ITER VI.			SITES OF THE STATIONS.
(43) Ab Eboraco Devam usque, sic :—			From York to Chester.
		corrected numbers.	
(61) Calcaria	m. p. VIIII	VIIII	Tadcaster.
(62) Camboduno	XXII	XXXII	Slack.
(63) Mancunio[1]	XVIII	XXIII	Manchester.
(64) Finibus Maximæ et Flaviæ	XVIII	VI	Stretford on Mersey.
(65) Condate[1]	XVIII	XXIII	Kinderton.
(90) Deva	XVIII	XVIII	Chester.

[1] Iter 10, Mancunio—Condate XXIII.

Such appears to be the incorrectness of the numerals attached to this Iter, as well as to the corresponding Iter of Antonine, that, although four of the six stations are well known, and a fifth can scarcely be mistaken, yet we can no other way obviate the difficulty than by supposing a station omitted, or by altering the numerals, none of which, except the first, agree with the distances between the vestiges of the different stations and their supposed sites; for example, in the first part between York and Manchester, where the Itinerary gives only 49 miles, the nearest road through Heathersfield amounts to 65.

As the only great and undoubted Roman station between TADCASTER and MANCHESTER is at SLACK (for the camps at Kirklees, and Castleshaw, are only temporary posts), it will perhaps be justifiable to fix this point as the site of *Camboduum*; to suppose ten miles omitted in this stage, and in the next to conjecture that, by a common error in copying the Roman numerals, XVIII. has been substituted for XXIII. the exact distance from SLACK to MANCHESTER.

ANTONINE, ITER II.		VARIATIONS OF THE NUMERALS IN ANTONINE.
Calcarim	VIIII	
Cambodunum	XX	XXX.
Mamucium	XVIII	XXIII.
Condate	XVIII	
Devam, Leg. XX. vict.	XX	

As the Mersey was undoubtedly the boundary on the west between the Roman provinces of Maxima and Flavia, and as the Roman road still existing crossed it at Stretford, we fix the next point there, and change the number XVII. to VI. The two next stations of *Condate* and *Deva*, the numerals (with a slight alteration) permit us to fix at Kinderton and Chester. It is worthy of remark, that with these alterations the sum total of the numerals remains nearly the same.

RICHARD, ITER VII.			SITES OF THE STATIONS.
(66) A Portu Sistuntiorum Eboracum usque, sic :—			From Freckleton to York.
		corrected numbers.	
(67) Rerigonio	XXIII	XIII	Ribchester.
(68) Ad Alpes Peninos	VIII	XXIII	Burrens in Broughton.
(69) Alicana	X	X	Ilkley.
(44) Isurio[1]	XVIII	XVIII	Aldborough.
(43) Eboraco	XVI	XVII	York.

[1] *Stuk.* XVIIII.

This Iter runs from FRECKLETON on the Ribble to RIBCHESTER, and then over the mountains to BROUGHTON, ILKLEY, ALDBOROUGH, and YORK. As the Roman road is tolerably perfect all the way to ALDBOROUGH, and the vestiges of the stations are undoubted, we are justified in the alteration of the two first numbers, as by this alteration they will correspond with the present distances and the situations of the posts.

ANTONINE, ITER II.	VARIATION OF THE NUMERALS IN ANTONINE.
Isurium	
Eboracum XVII	XVIII.

RICHARD, ITER VIII.			SITES OF THE STATIONS.
(43) Ab Eboraco Luguvalium usque, sic :—			From York to Carlisle.
		corrected numbers.	
(45) Cattaractoni	XL	XL	Catterick.
(70) Lataris	[1]XVI	XVIII	Bowes.
(71) Vataris	[2]XVI	XIIII	Brough.
(72) Brocavonacis (Brovonacis)	[3]XVIII	XIII	Kirby Thur.
(73) Vorreda	XVIII	XIIII	Plumpton Wall.
(74) Lugubalia	*XVIII	XIII	Carlisle.

[1] Lataris XVII. *Stukeley.* [2] XVI. *St.* [3] XX. *St.*

* Iter 10 inverted, Brocavonacis—Luguvallia, XXII.

The road from YORK to CATTERICK has been traced before, and the Roman way from thence to CARLISLE ran nearly in the direction of the present turnpike. The only doubt which occurs, therefore, in this Iter is whether, from a similarity of sound, the transcriber of Richard has not erroneously written Brocavonacis for Brovonacis, which are two neighbouring posts in this direction, the first Brougham, and the second KIRBY THUR. As the conjecture is not improbable, the corrected distance is given from the latter.

It is worthy of observation that in this Iter four successive V's have been added by mistake of the transcriber, as we before noticed, in regard to the X's omitted in the third Iter.

ANTONINE, IT. II. inv. IT. V.		VARIOUS READINGS OF ANTONINE.
Catarractonem	XLI	XLII.
Lavatrim	XVI	XVII. XII. XXI. Iter 5, XVIII.
Verterim	XIIII	Iter 5, XIII.
Brovonacim	XIII	XX.
Voredam	XIII	
Luguvallum	XIIII	Iter 5, Brovonacim, Luguvallium XXII.

RICHARD, Iter IX.			Sites of the Stations.
(74) A Luguballio Ptorotonim usque, sic :—			From Carlisle to Burgh Head.
		corrected numbers.	
(75) Trimontio	m. p.		Birrenswork Hill.
(76) Gadanica			
(77) Corio			
(52) Ad Vallum			Camelon.
Incipit Vespasiana			
(78) Alauna	XII	XIII	Kier.
(79) Lindo	VIIII	VIIII	Ardoch.
(80) Victoria	VIIII	VIIII	Dealgin Ross.
(81) Ad Hiernam	VIIII	VIIII	Strageth.
(82) Orrea	XIIII	XIIII	On the Tay above Perth.
(83) Ad Tavum	XVIIII	XVIIII	Near Invergowrie.
(84) Ad Æsicam	XXIII	XXIII	Brechin on South Esk.
(85) Ad Tinam	VIII	VIII	Fordun.
(86) Devana	XXIII	XXIII	Norman Dikes near Peter Culter.
(87) Ad Itunam	XXIIII	XXVI	Glenmailin on the Ithan.
(88) Ad Montem Grampium		XIII	Near Knock Hill.
(89) Ad Selinam		X	On the Cullen near Deskford.
(90) Tuessis	XVIIII	XVII	On the Spey near Bellie.
(91) Ptorotone		XVII	Burgh Head.

Innumerable difficulties occur on every side in endeavouring to explain this Iter. There is great reason to believe that the *Trimontium* of this Iter was Birrenswork Hill, and that the road ran from thence along the western side of the island as it is traced in the map of Richard. Camelon is allowed by all antiquaries to be the *Ad Vallum:* but it is impossible to draw the line between these two points; for although general Roy has mentioned a road from Carlisle on the eastern side of the Eildon Hills, and another on the western beyond Cleghorn to Castle Cary, there is little authority for the existence of either. Lynekirk has every appear-

ance of a station, lay within the territories of the Gadeni, and would suit the situation assigned to *Gadanica*, but no road has hitherto been discovered leading to or from it. If the western trended at Biggar as much to the east, as that part which remains in the direction of Glasgow does to the west, it would have passed Borthwith Castle or the Gore, which Roy supposes was the *Corium*. Admitting the identity of this station would clear up the whole of this Iter to the Wall. There is no doubt that the sites of *Lindum*, *Victoria*, and *Ad Hiernam* were at ARDOCH, DEALGIN ROSS, and STRAGETH.

Notwithstanding the difficulties which occur in tracing this Iter from Carlisle to the Wall, yet from thence to the Tay the direction of the road, and the situation of the stations as fixed by general Roy, agree so perfectly with the Itinerary, as to leave no doubt that he has ascertained their real position. But although he discovered a road north of the Tay, yet as he found no vestiges of stations, Mr. Chalmers seems to have been more successful in fixing the poſts between that river and *Ptoroton*.

It does not appear that the road was ever completed: however, from *Orrea* on the Tay, a little above Perth, he observes, that the communication ran through the passage of the Sidlaw Hills, and along the Carse of Gowrie to the north end of the estuary of the Tay near Dundee, two miles west of which place, and half a mile NORTH OF INVERGOWRIE, are the remains of a Roman camp about two hundred yards square, fortified with a high rampart and spacious ditch. Here he places *Ad Tavum*. Proceeding hence north-easterly through the natural opening of the country, and passing in the way the camp at Harefaulds, at the distance of twenty-three miles

is BRECHIN on the South Esk, the station *Ad Æsicam*, exactly in the line laid down in Richard's map, and at the distance given in the Itinerary. Continuing from the South Esk in a north north-easterly direction, at the distance of five miles and a half, we reach the NORTH ESK, the supposed *Ad Tinam*. We pass that river at King's Ford, and proceeding up the valley of Lutherwater, at the distance of eight miles and a half find FORDUN, where there are the remains of two Roman camps. From thence proceeding seventeen miles, to the well known camp at Raedikes, and continuing in a northerly direction six miles beyond, is the rectangular camp on the Dee at Peter Culter, called NORMAN DIKES, the *Devana* of the Iter. This point is exactly thirty-one miles from BRECHIN on the South Esk, agrees with the aggregate distances in the Itinerary *Ad Tinam* 8, and *Ad Devanam* 23, and corresponds with the track delineated on Richard's map.

The obvious openings through this rugged country point out the way by which the Romans must have penetrated northerly by the right of Achlea Fiddy and Kinmundy, to Kintore on the Don. They followed the Strath to the ford where the high road has always passed to Inverurie, and proceeded north north-west through the moorlands, to the sources of the Ithan, and the camp at GLENMAILIN, the *Ituna* of Richard, a distance of twenty-six miles. From thence proceeding northward, across the Doverna at Achengoul, where are still considerable remains of military works, and at the distance of thirteen miles, we reach the high ground north of Foggy lone, at the east side of KNOCK HILL, the *Mons Grampius* of the Iter.

Hence the road runs to *Ad Selinam*, which is supposed to be on

the CULLEN near the old Tower of Deskford, at the distance of ten miles. Following the course of the river and the coast of the Murray Frith, seventeen miles, we arrive at the Roman post of *Tuessis*, on the high bank of the SPEY, below the church of Bellie. Seventeen miles further is BURGH HEAD, the *Ptorotone* of Richard.

RICHARD, Iter X.			SITES OF THE STATIONS.	
(91) Ab ultima Ptorotone per mediam insulæ Isca Damnoniorum usque, sic :—			From Burgh Head through the middle of the island to Exeter.	
		corrected numbers.		
(92) Varis[1]	m. p. VIII	Names and Numerals from Gen. Roy.	Fores	VIIII
(93) Ad Tuessim	XVIII		Cromdall on Spey	XX
(94) Tamea	XXVIIII		Braemar Castle	XXX
(95) ———	XXI		Barra Castle on Ila	XXX
(96) In Medio	VIIII		Inchstuthill	XII
(82) Orrea	VIIII		Bertha on Tay	VIIII
(80) Victoria	XVIII		Dealgin Ross	XXIIII
(52) Ad Vallum[2]	XXXII		Camelon	XXXII
(74) Luguballia	LXXX		Carlisle	CXVIIII
(97) Brocavonacis	XXII	XXII	Brougham.	
(98) Ad Alaunam	....	XXXXVII	Lancaster.	
(99) Coccio	....	XXXVI	Blackrode.	
(63) Mancunio	XVIII	XVIII	Manchester.	
(65) Condate	XXIII	XXIII	Kinderton.	
(100) Mediolano	XVIII	XVI	Chesterton.	
(15) Etoceto	....	XXXV	Wall.	
(101) Salinis	m. p.	XXII	Droitwich.	
(102) Glebon Colon.	m. p.	XXXIIII	Glocester.	
(103) Corino	XIIII	XVIII	Cirencester.	
(104) Aquas Solis	m. p.....	XXX	Bath.	
(105) Ad Aquas	XVIII	XX	Probably Wells.	
(106) Ad Uxellam amnem	m. p.	XXI	Probably Bridgewater.	
(107) Isca	m. p.	XXXXV	Exeter.	

[1] VIIII. *Stukeley.* [2] XXX. Iter 9.

ANTONINE.

Iter 10.

Bremetonacim
It. 5. inv.
Brocavum.

Coccium	XX
Mancunium	XVIII
Condate	XVIII
Mediolanum	XVIII

Iter 13.

Clevum.

Durocornovium	XIIII

The first part of this Iter is taken from general Roy; and as we have none of the intermediate stations between Carlisle and the Wall, every commentator may choose what route he pleases, although none will coincide with the distances of the Itinerary. From CARLISLE, if we place any reliance on the numbers, the next station, *Brocavonacis*, can only be fixed at BROUGHAM. Thence the road to the banks of the Lune, as well as the station on it, is uncertain; for, whether we choose OVERBOROUGH or LANCASTER, we know of no road to direct us; and the only reason for preferring the latter is the supposed site of the next station, *Coccium*, at BLACKRODE, and the course of the road through LANCASTER, tending more immediately to that point, than the road through Overborough. The two next stations *Mancunium* and *Condate*, as well as the connecting line of road, are well known. From KINDERTON, although there is a Roman Way pointing to CHESTERTON in Staffordshire, the *Mediolanum* of this Iter, and the site of *Etocetum* is undoubtedly WALL, yet we speak with hesitation of the line of communication betwixt them; though we presume it ran through Newcastle, Stone, and Ridgeley. From WALL, which is on the Watling Street, the Iter continues along the Ryknield Street, through Sutton Colfield Park, to Birmingham. There falling in with the first Salt-Way, it proceeds to DROITWICH, and is continued by the Western Road, through Worcester, to GLOCESTER. Here, turning nearly at a right angle, it passes by the well known Roman road over Birdlip Hill to CIRENCESTER; and trending to the right proceeds by the Foss to *Aquæ Solis* or BATH. Quitting the Foss, and still bearing to the

right, it continues along the lower road to WELLS, and from thence to *Uxella*, which was probably at BRIDGEWATER. From the banks of the Parret it ran in the track of the British Way, and the present turnpike by Taunton, Wellington, and Collumpton, to EXETER.

RICHARD, ITER XI.			SITES OF THE STATIONS.
(104) Ab Aquis, per Viam Juliam, Menapiam usque, sic :—			From Bath by the Julian Way to St. David's.
		corrected numbers.	
(108) Ad Abonam	m. p. VI	VII	
(109) Ad Sabrinam	VI	VIIII	Bitton.
Unde Trajectu[1] intras in Brittaniam Secundam			Sea Mills.
(110) Et Stationem Trajectum[2]	III	III	Severn Side.
(111) Venta Silurum[3]	VIII	VIIII	Caerwent.
(112) Isca Colonia	VIIII	VIIII	Caerleon.
Unde fuit Aaron Martyr.			
(113) Tibia Amne[4]	VIII	XV	Banks of the Taaf, possibly Caireu or Caerdiff.
(114) Bovio	XX	XX	In Evenny Park.
(115) Nido	XV	XX	Near Neath.
(116) Leucaro	XV	X	Perhaps Lwghor.
(Muridunum omitt.	XX)	XX	Caermarthen.
(117) Ad Vigesimum	XX	XX	Castel Flemish*.
(118) Ad Menapiam	XVIIII	XVII	Near St. David's.
Ab hac urbe per m. p.	XXX		
Navigas in Hyberniam.			

[1] Statio Trajectus. *Comm.*

[2] Ad Sabrinam. *Comm.*

[3] VIIII. *Stu.*

[4] Tibia VII. *Stu.*

* This station has been recently discovered by Mr. Fenton during his researches for his history of Pembrokeshire, which is shortly to be published. It lies in the parish of Ambleston.

ANTONINE, ITER XIV. inv.		VARIOUS READINGS OF ANTONINE.
Trajectum	VI	VIIII.
Abonem	VIIII	Omitted in Harrison, 1.
Ventam Silurum	VIIII	
Iscam	VIIII	
Iter 12, inv.		
Bomium	XV	XXVII. XVIII. XXVIII. Bomium
Nidum	XV	omitted in Harrison 1. Bomium and
Leucarum	XV	Nidum transposed in Harrison 2.

As the course of the Roman road connecting the stations of this Iter is still discernible, we do not hesitate in correcting the imperfections of Richard by the corresponding Iter of Antonine. At BITTON, six miles from Bath, we find marks of a post attended with *tumuli*, which whether called *Abone* or *Trajectus** is of little importance, because like the next, SEA MILLS, it will suit either appellation, from its position on the Avon, and commanding a passage over that river. From BITTON the Roman way ran nearly in the direction of the present turnpike, north of the river as far as St. George's church; thence it proceeded straight near St. Paul's; ascended the Downs behind Mr. Daubeney's house to the direction-post, from whence it crossed Durdham Down, and skirted Mrs. Jackson's park wall to SEA MILLS, a great maritime post at the confluence of the Trim and the Avon. It continued by lord De Clifford's house straight to the Severn, crossed that river and passed by Caldecot Castle through CAERWENT and CAERLEON to the bank of the TAAF and EWENY PARK, which last place Roman remains lead us to conjecture was the site of *Bovium*. At NEATH we have also little hesitation in fixing the site of *Nidus*, because a road from the *Gaer* near *Brecon* evidently leads to the same spot.

The remainder of this Iter is obscure. *Leucaro* has been fixed at LWGHOR, principally from the resemblance of the name. From thence the road may have run to CAERMARTHEN (*Maridunum*), which appears to have been omitted; and was probably conti-

* We prefer the name of *Abone* for Sea Mills, because it bears that name in old deeds; on the other hand, there appears to be no instance in which the name of *Trajectus* is applied to a town unless at the passage of a river.

nued as straight as the country would permit to CASTEL FLEMISH and ST. DAVID'S, where we would place the stations *Vigesimum* and *Menapia* *.

* The bishops of St. David's being called in Latin *Menapienses* by the earliest of our ecclesiastical writers, is an argument that the station is near the present town. The site of the station itself was probably at a short distance from the modern city, at a place called the Burrows, and just above a fine harbour called the Porth Mawr.

RICHARD, Iter XII.			Sites of the Stations.
(104) Ab Aquis Londinium usque, sic :—			
		corrected numbers.	
(119) Verlucione m. p.	XV	XV	Highfield near Sandy Lane.
(120) Cunctione	XX	XV	Folly Farm, E. of Marlborough.
(121) Spinis	XV	XX	Spene.
(122) Calleba Attrebatum	XV		Silchester.
(123) Bibracte	XX	XXXXIIII	London.
(5) Londinio	XX		

As the traces of a Roman road from Bath towards Marlborough are still visible, we have only to examine in what points of its course Remains have been found sufficient to justify us in determining the sites of the different stations. Accordingly, at fifteen miles from Bath we have Highfield, in Sandy Lane, near Heddington; and at fifteen more Folly Farm near Marlborough. From hence twenty miles bring us to Spene; and although at this place few remains have been discovered, yet the direction of another Roman road, from Cirencester to the same point, sufficiently proves the existence of a station. Of the site of *Calleva* at Silchester * there can be little doubt; although the course of the road

* Few of the Roman stations have been fixed at so many different places as that of *Calleva Attrebatum*. It has been placed at Silchester, Henley, Wallingford, and Reading, by different antiquaries; yet in no doubtful case do more testimonies concur to ascertain the site. It was evidently a station of importance, because it appears as a central point, to which the roads traversed by three different Iters of Antonine (the 13th, 14th, and 15th,) converge. It was the capital of the Attrebates; situated at known distances from London, Winchester, Bath, Spene, and Caerleon; and at a doubtful one, though easily supplied, from Cirencester and Old Sarum. These circumstances cannot by

ANTONINE, ITER XIV.		VARIOUS READINGS OF ANTONINE. *Aquis* omitted in Harrison 1.
Verlucionem	XV	
Cunetionem	XX	
Spinas	XV	Spinis.
Callevam	XV	
Iter 7.		
Pontes	XXII	
Londinium	XXII	

from Spene is uncertain. The road from SILCHESTER, still known by the name of the Devil's Causeway, as it runs over Bagshot Heath, as well as evident traces of it between Staines and London, still exist; but the intermediate station of *Bibracte* is doubtful. If the numbers in this Iter be correct, we cannot deviate from the straight line, and this post must be placed near the hill at Egham, or the head of the Virginia Water.

any expedient be brought to coincide, either with Henley, Wallingford, or Reading; but all agree in regard to Silchester. Its distance nearly accords with the Itinerary distance of *Calleva*, from London, Bath, Speen, Winchester, and Caerleon, and, if a station (which is evidently lost) in the Iter of Antonine be supplied, with that from Cirencester. The present remains are those of a great Roman town; it is situated in the district formerly inhabited by the Attrebates; and in every direction traces of Roman roads converging to this point still plainly exist, from London, Speen, Winchester, Old Sarum, Bath, and Cirencester.

RICHARD, ITER XIII.			SITES OF THE STATIONS.
(112) Ab Isca Uriconium usque, sic:—			From Caerleon to Wroxeter.
		corrected numbers.	
(124) Bultro	m. p. VIII	VIII	Usk.
(125) Gobannio	XII	XII	Abergavenny.
(126) Magna	XXIII	XXIII	Kentchester.
(127) Branogenio	XXIII	XXIII	Lentwardine.
(18) Urioconio	XXVII	XXVII	Wroxeter.

The beginning of this Iter cannot be traced, notwithstanding two out of the three stations are well known; and we have little doubt that *Bultrum* or *Burrium* was at USK (though no Roman remains have been found there), because the distance given from CAERLEON to *Gobannium* or ABERGAVENNY will not admit of any deviation from the straight line. From ABERGAVENNY after passing the Munnow the Roman road still exists, particularly near Madley, pointing to KENTCHESTER, and from thence may be traced by the next post of LENTWARDINE on the Teme, to WROXETER.

ANTONINE, ITER XII.		VARIOUS READINGS OF ANTONINE.
Burrium	VIIII	
Gobannium	XII	
Magnim	XXII	
Bravonium	XXIIII	XXII. Bravonium omitted in Harrison 1.
Viroconium	XXVII	

RICHARD, ITER XIV.			SITES OF THE STATIONS.
(112) Ab Isca, per Glebon, Lindum usque, sic:—			From Caerleon, by Glocester, to Lincoln.
		corrected numbers.	
(124) Ballio [1] m. p.	VIII		Usk.
(128) Blestio	XII	XIII	Monmouth.
(129) Sariconio	XI	XII	Rose or Berry Hill in Weston.
(102) Glebon Colonia	XV	XV	Glocester.
(130) Ad Antonam	XV	XX	On the Avon.
(131) Alauna	XV	XV	Alcester on the Aln.
(132) ———	. . .	XVIIII	Camp at Chesterton on the Foss near Harwood's house.
(13) Vennonis	XII	XXI	High Cross.
(133) Ratiscorion	XII	XII	Leicester.
(134) Venromento	XII	XII	Willoughby.
(135) Margiduno	XII	XII	East Bridgeford.
(136) Ad Pontem	XII	VII	near Thorpe turnpike.
(137) Crococolana		VII	Brugh.
(39) Lindum	XII	XII	Lincoln.

[1] Bultro, It. 13.

This Iter ran, like the former, from CAERLEON to USK, where bending to the right it traversed the country to MONMOUTH. From hence, although we cannot trace the exact line of the road, yet we have no doubt that it crossed the Wye to the next station at BERRY HILL, in Weston, under Penyard; and continued nearly in a direct line to GLOCESTER. As the author has only left the name of a river for the next station, it must be placed in such a situation on the Avon as to admit the distance of fifteen miles from the next station of ALCESTER, which was the site of *Alauna*. This would carry it to the westward of Evesham. From ALCESTER likewise till we reach the Foss, we have neither a road nor distance, nor even the name of a station. For this reason we deem ourselves justified in considering the undoubted Roman camp at CHESTERTON on the

ANTONINE, ITER XIII.		VARIOUS READINGS OF ANTONINE.
Burrium Bullium	VIIII	
Blestium	XI	Blestium omitted in Harrison 1.
Ariconium	XI	
Clevum	XV	
Iter 6.		
Vennonim		
Ratis	XII	Ratas.
Verometum	XIII	XII. [Leland.
Margidunum	XII	XIII. XIIII. Margidunum omitted in
Ad Pontem	VII	Omitted in Iter 8.
Crococalanum	VII	
Lindum	XII	Iter 8, XIIII.

Foss, as the post omitted by our author, and from thence we proceed on that known military way to the certain stations of HIGH CROSS, LEICESTER, WILLOUGHBY, BRIDGEFORD, BRUGH, and LINCOLN.

RICHARD, ITER XV.			SITES OF THE STATIONS.
(5) A Londinio; per Clausentum, in Londinium usque, sic :—			From London, through Bittern, again to London.
		corrected numbers.	
(122) Caleba m.p.	XLIIII	XLIIII	Silchester.
(138) Vindomi	XV	XV	Near St. Mary Bourne.
(139) Venta Belgarum	XXI	XXI	Winchester.
(140) Ad Lapidem	VI	VI	Stoneham.
(141) Clausento	IIII	IIII	Bittern near Southampton.
(142) Portu Magno	X	XV	Portchester.
(143) Regno	X	XV	Chichester.
(144) Ad Decimum	X	X	On the Arun.
(145) Anderida Portu	...	[1]XLV	Pevensey.
(146) Ad Lemanum	XXV	XXV	On the Rother.
(147) Lemaniano Portu	X	XX	Lymne.
(148) Dubris	X	X	Dover.
(1) Rhutupis Colonia	X	XV	Richborough.
(149) Regulbio	X	VIIII	Reculver.
(2) Contiopoli	X	X	Canterbury.
(3) Durelevo	XVIII	XII	Stone Chaple in Ospringe.
(150) Mado	XII	XVIII	On the bank of the Medway.
(151) Vagnaca	XVIII	VIIII	Barkfields in Southfleet.
(152) Novio Mago	XVIII	XV	Holwood Hill.
(5) Londinio	XV	XV	London.

[1] *Stukeley* X.

ANTONINE, ITER VII.		VARIATION OF THE NUMERALS IN ANTONINE.
Callevam	XLIIII	
It. 12. & 15.		
Vindomim	XV	
Ventam Belgarum	XXI	
It. 7. inv.		
Clausentum	X	
Regnum	XX	
It. 2. inv.		
Durovernum		
Durolevum	XII	
Vagniacim	XXII	
Noviomagum	XVIII	VI.
Londinium	X	XII.

This Iter leads from London to the south-west part of Hampshire, and from thence, skirting the Sussex and Kentish coasts, back to the capital.

At the first step the author gives forty-four miles as the distance between LONDON and SILCHESTER, instead of forty, as in the twelfth Iter; hence we may deviate a little in settling the site of *Bibracte* or *Ad Pontes*. Of the next station we can merely offer a conjecture. As the country of the Attrebates and their capital *Calleva*, or SILCHESTER, is by our author described as lying near the Thames, in distinction from that of the Segontiaci*, whose capital, *Vindomis*, was further distant from that river, and nearer the Kennet, one point only appears to suit the distances, which bears the proper relation to the neighbouring stations, and at the same time falls at the intersection of two known Roman roads. This is in the neighbourhood of St. Mary Bourne, and affords reason for considering Egbury Camp, or some spot near it, as the capital of the Segontiaci. For by following the Roman road called the Portway from SILCHESTER, at the distance of fifteen miles is the rivulet near ST. MARY BOURNE, and not far from it, the point where the Portway is intersected by the Roman road from Winchester to Cirencester; and proceeding along this last we have another distance of twenty-one miles to WINCHESTER. The road from WINCHESTER by Otterbourne to STONEHAM, and thence by the Green Lane to BITTERN, is well known, and the distance sufficiently exact. But from thence, although traces of the road are occasionally dis-

* Richard, b. 1. c. 6. sect. 28. describing the several nations whose territories were watered by the Thames in its course to the German Ocean, places the Attrebates between the Hedui and the Cassii, without even mentioning the Segontiaci: a proof that their territories did not approach the river.

coverable on Ridgeway, and to the north of Bursledon Hill, pointing towards Fareham and PORTCHESTER, yet the latter part is almost totally unknown or lost. From PORTCHESTER it ran in the track of the present turnpike to CHICHESTER; and over the ARUN not far from Arundel, and then along the coast to PEVENSEY, the banks of the ROTHER, LYMNE, DOVER, RICHBOROUGH, RECULVER and CANTERBURY. There falling into the track of the first Iter, it went along the Watling Street to the bank of the MEDWAY, and passing that River proceeded by BARKFIELDS in Southfleet, a station omitted before, across the country with the antient Watling Street, (by a road now unknown*,) to HOLWOOD HILL, the capital of the Regni, and from thence to LONDON.

* In Hasted's History of Kent is a passage which countenances the idea of an antient road having traversed the country in this line.

RICHARD, Iter XVI.			Sites of the Stations.
(5) A Londinio Ceniam usque, sic :—			From London to the Fal.
		corrected numbers.	
(139) Venta Belgarum	m.p. XC	LXXX	Winchester.
(153) Brige	XI	XI	Near Broughton.
(154) Sorbioduno	VIII	VIIII	Old Sarum.
(155) Ventageladia	XII	XV	Gussage Cow Down.
(156) Durnovaria	VIIII	XXX	Dorchester.
(157) Moriduno	XXXIII	XXX	Seaton.
(107) Isca Damnon.	XV	XXVIII	Exeter.
(158) Durio Amne	....	XXIII	On the Dart.
(159) Tamara	....	XXVI	On the Tamar.
(160) Voluba	....	XXVIII	On the Fowey.
(161) Cenia	....	XX	On the Fal.

[1] LXXX. It. 15.

The exact route from London to Winchester not being defined, we may suppose that it ran as before through Silchester, and from thence by St. Mary Bourne, as in the 15th Iter. From Winchester, as the road still exists leading to Old Sarum, the distance of eleven miles will probably give the site of *Brige*, although the station itself is not known; and the nine following will lead us to Old Sarum. Pursuing the course of the road, which may be still traced quite to Dorchester, Remains found on Gussage Cow Down point out the site of *Ventageladia*; and the disagreement between the Itinerary and real distance from thence to Dorchester, justifies us in supposing that some intermediate post has been

ANTONINE, ITER VII. inv.		VARIOUS READINGS OF ANTONINE.
Venta Belgarum It. 12. & 15.	LXXVI	
Brige	XI	VIII. Brage—This post is omitted in Harrison 1.
Sorviodunim	VIIII	XI. VIII.
Vindogladiam	XIII	XII. XV. Vindocladium.
Durnonovariam	VIII	VIIII. It. 15. XVI—XXXVI.—Durnovariam.
Moridunum	XXXVI	XVI. It. 15.
Isca Dumnuniorum	XV	XII.

omitted. The site of *Moridunum* is doubtful, some thinking it to be Eggardon, or the Hill of the Morini, with which the distance of nine miles would not disagree; while others, with more reason, prefer SEATON, the great port of the West, because the Foss leads from Ilchester directly to it. Intermediate stations have evidently been lost between this place and EXETER, as has also been the case between that place and the DART, the TAMAR, the FOWEY, and the FAL. From Honiton the road is visible pointing to EXETER, as well as from EXETER to Totness, and according to the ingenious Borlase even to Lestwithiel.

RICHARD, ITER XVII.			SITES OF THE STATIONS.
Ab Anderida [Eboracum] usque, sic :—		*corrected numbers.*	From East Bourne to York.
(162) Sylva Anderida m. p. ...			East Bourne.
(152) Novio mago		XXXX	Holwood Hill.
(5) Londinio	XV	XV	London.
(163) Ad Fines[1]		XXVIII	Brougham.
(36) Durolisponte[2]		XXX	Godmanchester.
(37) Durnomago	XXX	XX	Castor on the left bank of the Nen.
(38) Corisennis	XXX	XXV	Ancaster.
(39) Lindo	XXX	XXI	Lincoln.
(164) In Medio	XV	XV	
(165) Ab Abum	XV	XV	Winterton.
Unde transis in Maximam	VI	VI	Brough.
(166) Ad Petuariam			
(48) Deinde Eboraco, ut supra (It. 5.) m. p.	XLVI	XXX	York.

[1] *Stuk.* XXX.

[2] It. 3. Duraliponte—Durnonago XX.—Isinnis XX.—Lindo XX.

ANTONINE, ITER II. inv.		VARIATIONS OF THE NUMERALS IN ANTONINE.
Noviomagum.		
Londinium	X	XII.
It. 5.		
Durolipontem.		
Durobrivas	XXXV	
Causennim	XXX	XX.
Lindum	XXVI	XXXVI.

This Iter ran in the track of the British Ermyn Street, from Pevensey and East Bourne, which were perhaps the *Anderida Portus*, and *Anderida* of the 15th Iter, along the ridge of hills to Holwood Hill (already mentioned as the capital of the Rhemi), and from thence to London, but its traces are now so obscure as to be almost forgotten. Some think that from London it proceeded along the British Street, by the Green lanes, Cheshunt, and to the west of Broxbourn to Ware; while others suppose that this Roman road went much straighter, and nearly in the course of the present turnpike through Ware to Broughing, a post at the confluence of the Rib and the Quin, where was probably the station *Ad Fines*, the boundary between the countries of the Iceni, the Cassii, and the Trinobantes. From hence the Roman road is so perfect by Caxton quite to Lincoln that we fix the station of *Durnomagus* at the great camp near Castor, and the three others at Godmanchester, Ancaster, and Lincoln. From Lincoln the Roman road proceeds directly to the bank of the Humber, having at the distance assigned in the Iter, the *Mansio in Medio*, and the post at Winterton; from whence six miles carry us across the river to Brough, or *Petuaria*, a post often confounded with the *Prætorium* of the 6th Iter. As there is a Roman road still existing from Brough towards Weighton and then over Barmby Moor to York, there can be little doubt in considering it as the course of this Iter. Should, however, the forty-six miles given in the Itinerary (which appears to have been an error arising from the mistake of the transcriber in confounding *Petuaria* and *Præturium*) be considered as correct,

the course of the Iter may be supposed to have run from Brough by Londesborough and Millington, to the great road from Flamborough, and then to have turned with it to York, making exactly the forty-six miles of the Itinerary.

RICHARD, ITER XVIII.			SITES OF THE STATIONS.
(43) Ab Eboraco per medium insulæ Clausentum usque, sic :—		*corrected numbers.*	From York through the middle of the island to Bittern.
(42) Legiolio	m. p. XXI	XXI	Castleford.
(167) Ad Fines	XVIII	XXIII	Temple Brough on the bank of the Don.
(168)	XVI	XVI	Tapton Hill near Chesterfield.
(169)	XVI	XII	Camp near Penkridge.
(170) Derventione [1]	XVI	XII	Little Chester.
(171) Ad Trivonam	XII	XII	Berry Farm in Branston.
(15) Etoceto [2]	XII	XII	Wall.
(14) Manduesuedo	XVI	XVI	Manceter.
(13) Benonnis	XII	XII	High Cross.
(12) Tripontio	XI	XI	Near Dove Bridge.
(11) Isannavaria	XII	X	Burnt Walls.
(172) Brinavis	XII	XII	Black Ground near Chipping Norton.
(173) Ælia Castra	XVI	XVI	Alcester near Bicester.
(174) Dorocina	XV	XVI	Dorchester.
(175) Tamesi	VI	VI	On the Thames.
Vindomi / (122) *Calleva*	XV	XX	Silchester.
(141) Clausento	XXXXVI	XXXXV	Bittern near Southampton.

[1] XVI.

[2] It. 2. inv. Etoceto.—Manduessuedo XIII.—Benonis XII.—Tripontio IX. —Isanta Varia XII.

This Iter proceeds from YORK in the same direction as the fourth to CASTLEFORD, where, bearing to the right to join the Ryknield Street, it continues with it through the several stations of TEMPLE BROUGH on the Don, CHESTERFIELD, PENKRIDGE, LITTLE CHESTER, and BRANSTON, to WALL. Here diverging to the left with the Watling Street, it passed through MANCETER, HIGH CROSS, and DOVE BRIDGE, to BURNT WALLS. It there quitted the known road, and bore across the country, by an unknown route to AL-

ANTONINE.		VARIATION OF THE NUMERALS IN ANTONINE.
Iter 2.		
Etocetum.		
Manduessedum	XVI	VI.
Venonim	XII	
It. 6. inv.		
Tripontium	VIIII	
Isannavatia	XII	

CESTER, on the Akeman Street; but the considerable remains found at BLACK GROUND near Chipping Norton would lead us to place the station of *Brinavis* there, if the Roman road did not make any material deviation between BURNT WALLS and ALCESTER.

From ALCESTER the road runs plainly over Ottmoor, and indeed almost all the way to DORCHESTER. But from thence as we can discover no traces of a road, and as our next post appears to

have been only six miles distant and on the Thames, if any reliance can be placed on the number, it may be the point where the Roman road from Wantage apparently passes that river opposite MONGEWELL. The next distance of fifteen miles, being insufficient to lead us by any road to *Vindomis*, if it were placed either at Silchester or near St. Mary Bourne, it is more than probable that there is some error in the name of the station; and as the following number of forty-six miles agrees with the distance in the 15th Iter of the road from SILCHESTER passing near Egbury to Bittern, we cannot help supposing that the name of *Vindomis* has been inserted by mistake for that of *Calleva*.

RICARDI CORINENSIS

MONACHI WESTMONASTERIENSIS

DE SITU BRITANNIÆ

LIBRI DUO.

E CODICE MS. DESCRIPSIT, NOTISQUE ET INDICE ADORNAVIT,

CAROLUS BERTRAM.

Bale's Praef. to Lelande's New Year's Gift.

As ye find a notable antyquyte, such as are the Hystoryes of Gildas and Nennius amonge the Brytaines, Stephanides and Asserius among the Englisshe Saxons, lete them anon be imprented, and so brynge them into a nombre of Coppyes both to their and your owne perpetual fame.

Fac Simile of

the M.S. of Richard of Cirencester.

xxm

Sequit Cōētarioſ geographicū de ſitu Brittāie t ſtatiōū
q Rōam ipſi i ea ītūlta edificauerut.

Lib. I Cr.

Imſ erat orbiſ ora
Gallici litoriſ uſi
Brittaīa iſla ū glib
amplexudis uō ē peē
oz biſ alteriy mere
dictē hic abeſt a Gelloria
co morīoy brittāice gē
tuſ portu traiectu mill
liū l ſiue ut q dē ſcripſere
ſtadioy cccel ullme gſpi

Neele sc. Strand

Printed for J. White & Co. Horace's Head Fleet Street June 1.1809.

RICARDI

MONACHI WESTMONASTERIENSIS

COMMENTARIOLI GEOGRAPHICI

DE

SITU BRITTANIÆ

ET

STATIONUM

QUAS ROMANI IPSI IN EA INSULA ÆDIFICAVERUNT

LIBER PRIMUS.

CAPUT I.

I. Finis erat orbis ora Gallici littoris, nisi Brittania insula, non qualibet amplitudine, nomen pene orbis alterius mereretur; octingentis enim et amplius millibus passuum longa porrigitur, ita ut eam in Caledonicum usque promuntorium metiamur.

II. Veteres Britanniam, ab albis rupibus, primum Albionem, postea, vocabulo gentis suæ, Brittaniam cognominaverunt, cum Brittanicæ vocarentur omnes de quibus mox paulo dicemus.

III. Inter septemtriones et occidentem locata est,

Germaniæ, Galliæ, Hispaniæ, maxumis Europæ partibus magno intervallo adversa, oceano Athlantico clauditur.

IV. Habet ipsa Brittania a meridie Galliam Belgicam, cujus proximum littus transmeantibus civitas aperit, quæ Rhutupis portus dicitur: hic abest à Gessoriaco Morinorum, Brittanicæ gentis portu, trajectu millium L. sive, ut quidam scripsere, stadiorum CCCCL. illinc conspiciuntur Brittones, quos

"— penitus toto divisos orbe —"

canit Virgilius Maro in Eclogis.

V. Agrippa, vetus orbis descriptor, latitudinem ejus CCC. m. p. credit. Beda vero rectius CC. exceptis duntaxat prolixioribus diversorum promuntoriorum tractibus, quibus efficitur ut circuitus ejus quadragies octies septuaginta quinque millia passuum compleat. Marcianus, author Græcus, mecum MDIↃↃLXXV. milliaria habet.

CAPUT II.

I. ALBION, quæ Brittania Magna a Chrysostho-mo authore Græco dicitur, natura, ut refert Cæsar, triquetra et Siciliæ maxume similis est; cujus unum latus est contra Galliam Celticam, hujus lateris alter angulus, qui est ad Cantium, ad orientem solem; inferior, qui est ad Ocrinum promuntorium apud Damnonos, ad meridiem et Hispaniam Tarraconen-sem spectat. Hoc latus tenet circiter millia pas-suum D.

II. Alterum latus vergit ad Hyberniam et occi-dentem solem; hujus est longitudo lateris, ut fert veterum opinio, DCC. m. p.

III. Tertium est contra septemtriones, cui parti nulla est objecta terra præter insulas; sed ejus an-gulus lateris maxume ad Germaniam Magnam spec-tat; huic a Novanto chersoneso per Taixalorum re-gionis angulum Cantium promuntorium usque millia passuum DCCC. in longitudinem esse existimatur. Ita omnes insulam computabant in circuitu vicies centena millia passuum, sed errant, nam a Cantio Ocrinum usque m. p. est distantia CCCC. inde No-vantum M. deinde Cantium MMCC. totius insulæ

circuitus, ut supra, MMMCCCCCC. millia passuum est.

IV. Formam totius Brittaniæ Livius et Fabius Rusticus, veterum doctissimi authores, oblongæ scutulæ vel bipenni assimilavere; et, ut annalium conditor Tacitus, est ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universam fama est transgressa; sed immensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo jam littore terrarum, velut in cuneum tenuatur. Sed Cæsar, inclutissimus dictator, cum Mela Romanorum nobili scriptore, pluribus eam triquetræ dixere similem: de quo supra.

V. Si Ptolemæo, orbis terrarum descriptori egregio, aliisque, coævis illi scriptoribus habenda fides, litteram Z, sed inversam, repræsentat hæc insula, nec tamen ex omni parte exacte quadrare hoc simile sufficienter præbet recentiori ævo descriptarum mapparum inspectio. Triquetra tamen figura soli Angliæ quodammodo videtur conveniens.

CAPUT III.

I. Cæterum Brittaniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter nationes cæteras, parum compertum. Solis quippe Judæis, et per ipsos finitimis quibusdam gentibus, hoc contigit felicitatis, ut a primo inde mundi exordio gentis suæ originem continua serie ex infallibilibus deducere possint monumentis.

II. Habitus corporum varii, atque ex eo argumenta: namque rutulæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem asseverant; Silurum colorati vultus, et torti plerumque crines, et positu contra Hispaniam, ut author est Tacitus, Iberos veteres trajecisse, easque et in Hybernia sedes occupasse fidem faciunt. Proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis vi, seu procurrentibus in diversa terris, positio cœli corporibus habitum dedit.

III. Heic, si luberet indulgere fabulis, notare possem Venetos ope commercii navalis incolas religionesque his terris primum intulisse; imo non desunt scriptores qui Herculem huc quoque pervenisse, regnumque constituisse, referunt: his vero tam alte

reconditis antiquitatibus, fabulis hinc inde refertis, immorari vix operæ pretium videtur.

IV. In universum tamen estimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est: eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum, ait Tacitus, persuasionem; sermo haud multum diversus: pro ulteriori signo inservit Druidum traditio, una cum nominibus civitatum, quæ vero omnes iis nominibus appellabantur, quibus gentes, ortæ ex Galliæ civitatibus, quæ eo pervenerunt, atque agros colere ceperunt.

V. Hominum est, inquit Cæsar, infinita multitudo, creberrimaque ædificia, fere Gallicis consimilia, pecora sine numero.

VI Omnium tamen humanissimi, qui Brittaniam austrinam incolebant, neque multum a Gallis differebant consuetudine; ulteriores plerique frumenta non ferebant, sed lacte, fructu, et carne vivebant, lanæ iis usus ac vestium ignotus erat, et quanquam continuis frigoribus utebantur pellibus, tamen cervinis aut ovinis vestiti erant, et lavabantur in fluminibus.

VII. Omnes vero se Brittones olim vitro infecerunt, quod cœruleum efficit colorem, atque, refert Cæsar, hoc horribiliore sunt in pugna adspectu: capilloque sunt, ut ait Romanorum dux, promisso,

atque omni parte corporis rasa præter caput et labrum superius.

VIII. Uxores habebant Brittones deni duodenique inter se communes, et maxume fratres cum fratribus, parentes cum liberis; sed, si qui erant ex his nati, eorum habebantur liberi, a quibus primum virgines quæque ductæ erant. Sua quemque mater uberibus alit, nec ancillis nec nutricibus delectantur.

IX. Utebantur aut nummo æreo, aut annulis ferreis, ad certum pondus examinatis, pro nummis, ut author est Cæsar Dictator.

X. Leporem et gallinam et anserem gustare Brittones fas non putabant, hæc tamen alebant animi voluptatisque causa.

XI. Erant autem margaritæ, frena heburnea, et armillæ, et electrina atque vitrea vasa, et gagates lapides, et, quod cæteris excellit, stannum, magna copia merces.

XII. Utebantur et navibus, quarum carinæ primum ac statumina ex levi materia fiebant, reliquum corpus navium ambitus viminibus contextus coriis bubulorum integebatur. Quantocunque tempore

cursus tenebant, ut author est Solinus, navigantes, escis abstinent.

De Re Militari Brittonum.

XIII. Fert ipsa Brittania populos regesque populorum, ut Mela lib. III. scripsit: sed sunt inculti omnes, atque ut longius a continenti absunt, ita aliarum opum ignari, magis tantum pecore ac finibus dites; causas autem et bella contrahunt, ac se frequenter invicem infestant, maxume imperitandi cupidine studioque ea prolatandi, quæ possident: solitum quidem, Brittones fœminarum ductu bellasse, neque sexum in imperiis discrevisse.

XIV. Dimicabant Brittones non solum equitatus peditatusque modo, sed etiam bigis et curribus, Gallice armati: covinos, essedas vero, more vulgari, vocabant, quorum falcatis axibus utebantur.

XV. Equitum genus est, iis, quum est usus, atque aliquod bellum incidit, ut Cæsar est author, quod ante Romanorum adventum fere quotannis accidere solebat, uti aut ipsi injurias inferrent, aut illatas propulsarent: omnes in bello versantur, atqui eorum, ut quisque est genere copiisque amplissimus, ita plurimos circum se ambactos clientesque habet: hanc unam gratiam potentiamque noverunt.

XVI. In pedite erat Brittonum robur, prœliantur autem telis et ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris. Erant Brittonum gladii, ut ait Tacitus, sine mucrone.

XVII. Genus hoc erat ex essedis pugnæ, ut Cæsar in IV. narrat. Primo per omnes partes perequitant, et tela conjiciunt; ac ipso terrore equorum, et strepitu rotarum, ordines plerumque perturbant: et quum se inter equitum turmas insinuavere, ex essedis desiliunt, et pedibus dispari prœlio contendunt. Aurigæ interim paululum e prœlio excedunt, atque ita se collocant, ut, si illi a multitudine hostium premantur, expeditum ad suos receptum habeant: ita mobilitatem equitum, stabilitatem peditum in prœliis præstant; ac tantum usu quotidiano, et exercitatione efficiunt, ut in declivi ac præcipiti loco incitatos equos sustinere, et brevi moderari, ac flectere, et per temonem percurrere, et in jugo insistere, et inde se in currus citissime recipere consueverint.

XVIII. Equestris autem prœlii ratio, et cedentibus et insequentibus par atque idem periculum inferebat. Accedebat huc, ut nunquam conferti, sed rari, magnisque intervallis, prœliarentur, stationesque dispositas haberent, atque alios alii deinceps exciperent; integrique et recentes defatigatis succederent. Utebantur et telis.

XIX. Formam regiminis Brittanici, ante advectos in hanc insulam Romanos, determinare haud facile: hoc certum, quod nullum ibi ante hæc tempora Monarchici imperii vestigium, sed Democraticum fuisse potius videtur, nisi forte Aristocratiam æmulari videatur. Druidum in rebus maxumi momenti authoritas non exigua. Commemorantur quidem in antiquissimis eorum monumentis principes nonnulli; hi vero brevioris plerumque imperii, nec, nisi ingruente eximio quodam periculo, et more dictatorum Romanorum ex tempore creati videntur. Nec desunt inter ipsos, apud alias fortes gentes, rarissima exempla, electi ab illis in futurum antisignanum ipsius hostium duces, ut pro illis in posterum militaret, quem nuper hostem habuerant.

XX. Proceritate corporis Gallos æque ac Romanos vincunt Brittones, ita ut visos sibi Romæ juvenes nondumque adultos Brittones, Strabo philosophus, orbis terræ descriptor antiquissimus, affirmet, qui solitam Gallorum Romanorumque staturam non levi momento excedebant.

XXI. Ditiores australis Brittaniæ incolæ aureo digitorum sinistræ medium annulo ornare in more habuerunt, aurea vero e collo suspensa torques a vilioris conditionis hominibus discernebat optimatum eminentiores. Septentrionales vero (hi vete-

res erant regni indigenæ) vestium usus sicuti ac a longo inde tempore avi abavique, tantum non ignari, ventrem et cervicem ferreo cingunt, ut fert Herodianus, nobilis Græcorum scriptor, annulo; ornamentum id esse ac divitiarum argumentum existimantes, accedente in usum potius quam ornatum scuto angusto, et lancea, gladioque e nudis et pictis corporibus dependente. Loricam interim galeamque, futura nempe paludes transeuntibus impedimento, rejiciunt atque contemnunt.

XXII. Inter cætera autem fuit et hoc Brittanicæ consuetudinis, ut viatores et mercatores etiam invitos consistere cogerent, et quod quisque eorum de una alterave re apud exteros memorabile audierit, aut cognoverit, quærerent, et mercatores peregre advenientes in oppidis vulgus circumsisteret; quibus ex regionibus veniant, quasque ibi res cognoverint, pronunciare cogentes. His rumoribus atque auditionibus permoti, de summis sæpe rebus consilia ineunt, quorum eos e vestigio pœnitere necesse est, quum incertis rumoribus serviant, et plerique ad voluntatem eorum ficta respondeant.

XXIII. Funera eorum sunt magnifica et sumptuosa, omniaque, quæ vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur, in ignem inferunt, etiam arma et animalia. Sepulchrum tumulus *ex* cespitibus erigit.

CAPUT IV.

1. Natio Brittonum fuit omnis, ut Gallorum, admodum dedita religionibus; atque ob eam causam qui gravioribus affecti morbis, quique in prœliis periculisque versabantur, aut pro victimis homines immolabant, aut se immolaturos vovebant.

II. Ad peragenda crudelia hæc sacra, druidum utebantur ministerio; nec credebant placari posse Deos, nisi hominis cædes humano sanguine pensaretur. Hinc instituta publice istiusmodi sacrificia, oblataque, ut gratissima Diis hostia, qui in furto, latrocinio, aliave graviori culpa deprehensi, his vero deficientibus, ad innocentium quoque mactationem descendebant, ut quocunque demum modo Dii placarentur.

III. Nisi adfuerint druides, res sacra rite celebrari non credebatur: hinc publica non minus quam privata sacra procurandi negotium illis unice incumbebat. Erat penes hoc religionis cura, æque ac mysteriorum interpretatio, corporis quoque et sanitatis sive tuendæ, sive restituendæ curam habebant, continuo medicinæ peritissimi.

IV. Inter deos ipsis præcipue colebatur Mercu-

rius, cujus plurima prostabant simulachra, post hunc Justitiam (qui Brittonibus Adraste dicebatur), hinc Apollinem, Martem (qui etiam Vitucadrus appellabatur). Jovem, Minervam, Herculem, Victoriam (Andatem vocatam), Dianam, Cybelem et Plutonem venerabantur, eandem fere de his numinibus ac quidem aliæ gentes opinionem amplexi.

V. A Dite autem, ut et Galli, gentis suæ originem deducere allaborabant Brittones. Antiquissimam hanc venditantes druidum traditionem, eam ob causam quælibet temporum spatia, non dierum, sed noctium numero definiebant, dieique mensis et anni natalis initia ita numerare consueverunt, ut capto a nocte initio dies subsequeretur; quæ consuetudo omnino convenit cum antiquissima illa, quæ Gen. I. habetur noctium ac dierum computatione.

VI. Ad druides magnus disciplinæ causa confluebat adolescentium numerus; hi quippe in magno erant apud ipsos honore, nam fere de omnibus controversiis, publicis privatisque, constituebant, et si quod admissum erat facinus, si cædes facta, si de hæreditate, de finibus controversia erat, iidem decernebant: præmia pœnasque constituerunt, si quis aut privatus aut publicus eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicebant; hæc exclusionis pœna apud eos erat gravissima. Quibus ita interdictum, ii numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habebantur: iis

omnes decedebant, aditum eorum sermonemque defugientes, ne quid ex contagione incommodi acciperent: neque iis petentibus jus reddebatur, neque honos habebatur ullus.

VII. His autem omnibus druidibus præerat unus, qui summam inter eos potestatem habebat et authoritatem. Hoc mortuo, successor dabatur, qui inter reliquos excellebat dignitate; at si plures essent dignitate pares, suffragio druidum res committebatur; nonnunquam etiam de principatu armis contendebant.

VIII. Druides à bello abesse solebant, neque tributa una cum reliquis pendebant, militiæ vacationem, omniumque rerum habebant immunitatem; tantis excitati præmiis, et sua sponte, multi in disciplinam conveniebant, et a propinquis parentibusque mittebantur.

IX. Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere solebant, quod unicum apud eos memoriæ et annalium genus: itaque nonnulli annos vicenos in disciplina permanebant, neque fas esse existimarunt eam litteris mandare, quum tamen in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus, Græcis litteris uterentur. "Id mihi duabus de causis," inquit D. Julius, "instituisse videntur; quod neque in vulgus disciplinam efferri velint; neque eos, qui discunt,

litteris confisos, minus memoriæ studere; quod fere plerisque accidit, ut præsidio litterarum, diligentiam in perdiscendo, ac memoriam remittant.

X. Inprimis hoc persuadere allaborabant, non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios; atque hoc maxume ad virtutem excitari putabant, metu mortis neglecto. Multa præterea de syderibus atque eorum motu, de mundi et terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de Deorum vi ac potestate disputabant, et juventuti tradebant sollicite.

XI. Non est omittenda de visco admiratio: nichil habebant druides visco et arbore in qua gignatur (si modo sit robur) sacratius. Jam per se roborum eligebant lucos, nec ulla sacra sine ea fronde conficiebant; ut inde appellati quoque interpretatione Græca possint Δρυιδες (Druides) videri. Enimvero quicquid adnascatur illis, e cœlo missum putabant, signumque esse electæ ab ipso Deo arboris. Est autem id rarum admodum inventu, et repertum magna religione petitur, et ante omnia sexta luna, quæ principium mensium annorumque bis facit, et seculi, post tricesimum annum; quia jam virium abunde habebat, nec tamen sit sui dimidia. Omnia sanantem appellantes suo vocabulo. Sacrificio epulisque rite sub arbore præparatis, duos admovebant candidi coloris tauros, quorum cornua tunc primum vinciantur. Sacerdos candida veste

cultus arborem scandebat, falce aurea dimetiens; candido id excipiebatur sago: tunc demum victimas immolant, precantes, ut suum donum Deus prosperum faceret. His, quibus dederant, fœcunditatem eo poto dari cuicunque animali sterili arbitrabantur, contraque venena omnia esse remedio: tanta gentium in rebus frivolis plerumque religio fuerat!

XII. Druidarum disciplina in nostra Brittania reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur: unde Plinius eleganter declamat lib. XXX. his verbis: "Sed quid ego hæc commemorem in arte oceanum quoque transgressa, et ad naturæ inane pervecta? Brittania hodieque eam attonite celebrat tantis ceremoniis, ut dedisse Persis videri possit:" idem Julius Cæsar affirmat in Ephemeridis: "Et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo, discendi caussa, proficiscuntur"

XIII. Druides certo anni tempore in finibus Brittaniæ, in insulæ Monæ luco consecrato, considebant; huc omnes undique, quos inter controversia, convenirebant, eorumque judiciis decretisque acquiescebant.

XIV. Præter druides apud Gallos atque Brittones erant bardi poetæ, qui Deum Heroumque res gestas, heroicis expositas versibus, cum dulcibus lyræ modulis cantitabant.

XV. De his ambobus ita cecinit Lucanus vates his versibus, quibus hoc caput finiam:

" Vos quoque, qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas
Laudibus in longum, vates! dimittitis ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina bardi.
Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremque sinistrum
Sacrorum, druidæ, positis repetistis ab armis.
Solis nosse Deos, et cœli numina vobis,
Aut solis nescire datum: nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis. Vobis authoribus, umbræ
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt; regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio: longæ, canitis (si cognita) vitæ
Mors media est. Certe populi, quos despicit Arctos,
Felices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maxumus, haud urget Lethi metus: inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis; et ignavum redituræ parcere vitæ."

CAPUT V.

I. Opima frugibus atque arboribus insula, et alendis apta pecoribus ac jumentis; vineas etiam quibusdam in locis germinans. Sed et avium ferax terra marique generis diversi; fluviis quoque multum piscosis, ac fontibus præclara copiosis, et quidem præcipue isicio abundat et anguilla.

II. Capiuntur autem sæpissime et vituli marini, et delphines, nec non et ballenæ, de quo apud Satyricum mentionem inveniamus:

" Quanto delphinis ballena Brittanica major ?"

III. Exceptis autem variorum generibus conchyliorum, in quibus sunt et musculi, quibus inclusam sæpe margaritam omnis quidem coloris optimam inveniunt, id est, et rubicundi, et purpurei, et hyacinthini, et prasini, sed maxume candidi, ut scripsit venerabilis Beda in prima Eccl. Hist. ad Regem Colfulsum.

IV. Sunt et cochleæ, satis superque abundantes, quibus tinctura coccinei coloris conficitur, cujus rubor pulcherrimus, nullo unquam solis ardore, nulla valet pluviarum injuria pallescere; sed quo vetustior est, eo solet esse venustior.

V. Habet fontes salinarum et fontes calidos, et ex eis fluvios balnearum calidarum, omni ætati et sexui per distincta loca, juxta suum cuique modum accommodatos.

VI. Nascitur ibi plumbum album in mediterraneis regionibus, in maritimis ferrum; sed ejus exigua est copia; ære utuntur importato; gignit et aurum, et argentum. Fert et lapidem gagatem plurimum optimumque; est autem nigrogemmeus et ardens igni admotus, incensus serpentes fugat, adtritu calefactus adplicita detinet æque ut succinum.

VII. Et quia Brittania prope sub septentrionali vertice mundi jacet, lucidas æstate noctes habet; ita ut medio sæpe tempore noctis in questionem veniat intuentibus, utrum crepusculum adhuc permaneat vespertinum, an jam advenerit matutinum? utpote nocturno sole non longe sub terris ad orientem boreales per plagas redeunte. Unde etiam plurimæ longitudinis habet dies æstate, sicut et noctes contra in bruma, sole nimirum tunc in Lybicas partes secedente, id est, horarum X. et VIII., ut author est Cleomedes: plurimæ item brevitatis noctes æstate et dies habet in bruma, hoc est, VI. solummodo æquinoctialium horarum: cum in Armenia, Macedonia, Italia, cæterisque ejusdem lineæ regionibus, longissima dies sive nox XV., brevissima VIIII., compleat horas.

VIII. Sed de Brittania Brittonibusque in genere satis prolixe commemoravi. Res ipsa requirit ad particularia tandem descendere, atque, in sequentibus, statum fatumque diversarum, quæ hanc insulam incoluerunt, nationum, quæ eandem nobilitarunt, civitates, *cet.* quales sub ditione Romana erant, ex ordine depingere mei jam erit propositi.

CAPUT VI.

I. Brittania, secundum accuratissima veterum, quæ propius fidem sunt, monumenta, erat omnis divisa in partes septem; quarum sex alio atque alio tempore imperio Romano adjectæ fuerunt, septima vero sub solis barbaris Caledoniis.

II. Supra dictæ Brittaniæ partes erant Brittania Prima, Secunda, Flavia, Maxima, Valentia, et Vespasiana, quarum ultima non diu stetit in manibus Romanorum. Ex his Brittaniam Primam a Flavia Thamesis flumen, a Britannia Secunda mare dividit. Flavia initium capit a mari Germanico, continetur Thamesi fluvio, Sabrina* a finibus Silurum Ordovicumque, vergit ad septemtriones et Brigantum regionem. Maxima ab extremis Flaviæ finibus oritur, pertinet ad inferiorem partem Muri, qui totam ex transverso percurrit insulam, spectatque in septemtriones. Spatium inter ambos, hunc et alium, qui ab imperatore Antonino Pio, inter Bdoram et Clyddam extructus est, Murum, occupat Valentia*na*. Vespasiana autem a Bdoræ æstuario ad civitatem Alcluith, unde linea ad ostium fluminis Vararis

* Forsitan, "*Sabrina et Deva*," vid. XXI.

ducta terminos ostendit. Secunda ad eam partem oceani, quæ ad Hyberniam pertinet, spectat inter occasum et septemtriones. Sed de provinciis satis.

III. Necessarium vero ducimus, antequam ad accuratiorem nos conferamus descriptionem, regiminis in hisce provinciis constitutionem paucis attingere. Deprehendimus adeoque totam, antiquissimis temporibus, plurium regulorum statuumque arbitrio divisim paruisse Brittaniam, quorum nonnulli, etiam post occupatam a Romanis provinciam, superfuisse commemorantur ; sed vix umbra regiæ dignitatis istis principibus relicta, contrarium nempe dissuadente politica illa, qua Romani olim, præ cultissimis etiam quibusque gentibus, inclaruerunt prudentia. Victricibus Romanorum armis subjugatæ imperatoria authoritate constitutus præerat Legatus, ipsa Brittania vero provincia erat proconsularis. Per plures hæc imperii constitutio duravit ætates ; licet in plures interim ipsa insula divisa fuerit partes ; primum nempe in Superiorem et Inferiorem, deinceps vero, uti antea demonstravimus, in septem dispertita provincias, mutata regiminis forma : deinde diu paruit, ut imperatoria sedes, hæc insula Carausio, eisque quos in societatem adsciverat tyrannis. Gloria et præsidium Christianismi, Constantinus Magnus, creditur Maximam et Valentiam Consulares, Primam, Secundam, et Flaviam Præsidiales, fecisse. Toti vero insulæ præpositus est Vicarius, vir perspicabilis, sub dispositione viri illustris Domini Præfecti

Prætorii Galliæ; præter quem in vetusto quodam volumine circa eadem tempora commemoratur aliquis eximiæ dignitatis vir, titulo Comitis Brittaniarum insignis, alius itidem, Comes littoris Saxonici, tertius præterea Dux Brittaniæ dictus, aliique plures, magnis præfecti muneribus, quæ, cum distincta eorum notitia, injuria temporis, impetrari non potuerit, cogimur taciti præterire.

IV. Prolixum nunc tandem iter ingredior, totam non minus insulam, quam singulasque ejus partes curiosa lustraturus indagine, pressurusque optimorum in hoc negotio authorum vestigia. Fiat vero ab extrema Primæ provinciæ ora initium, cujus littora Galliæ objiciuntur. Tres vero laudatissimos validissimosque status, Cantianum nempe, Belgicum, et Damnonicum, complectitur hæc provincia, de quibus ea, qua fieri poterit, cura nobis sigillatim agendum. Cantium primo lustremus.

V. Ad extremam Brittaniæ Primæ orientalem oram remotam Cantium, Cantiis quondam habitatum, civitatibus Durobrobi et Cantiopoli, quæ eorum metropolis; hic sepultus est D. Augustinus Anglorum apostolus: Dubræ, Lemanus, et Regulbium, præsidio a Romanis munita, eorumque primarium Rhutupi, deducta eo colonia, metropolis factum, portusque classi Romanorum, quæ oceano septentrionali dominabatur, recipiendæ factus idoneus.

Tanti nominis fuit hæc civitas, ut littora vicina ex ea dicta sint Rhutupina, de quibus Lucanus poeta:

"Aut vagæ cum Thetis Rhutupinaque littora fervent."

Inde quoque ingentia et grati saporis ostrea Romam translata, ut author est Juvenalis Satyricus his verbis:

"———————— Circæis nata forent, an
Lucrinum ad saxum, Rhutupinove edita fundo
Ostrea, callebat primo deprendere morsu."

Statio etiam fuit, sub dispositione viri spectabilis Comitis littoris Saxonici, legionis secundæ Augustæ.

VI. Quam plurimis hoc Cantiorum regnum fluminibus rigatur, quorum celebriora, Madus, Sturius, Dubris, et Lemanus, qui Cantios a Bibrocis discernebat.

VII. Inter tria ista præcipua Brittaniæ promuntoria, eminet illud, quod a Cantio nomen habet: ibi oceanus in angulum quasi redactus, cursum ita promovet fluxionemque suam, donec, ut veteres tradunt, fretum istud oceani, quod jam Brittaniæ formam insulam, effecerit.

VIII. A Cantio, vasta illa quæ Anterida nonnullis, aliis Caledonia dicta sylva, late extenditur ad CL. milliaria per Bibrocorum ac Segontiacorum ter-

ras, ad Heduorum usque fines excurrens. De hac sylva ita cecinit Lucanus:

"Unde Caledoniis fallit turbata Brittanos."

IX. Cantiis proximi, et, ut putant nonnulli, subjecti, Bibroci, qui et aliis Rhemi dicuntur; natio in monumentis non penitus ignota, quibus habitatum Bibroicum, Regentium, Noviomagumque metropolis. Anderidam vero occupatam tenuerunt Romani.

X. Confines illis apud ripam Thamesis habitabant Attrebates, quorum urbs primaria Caleba.

XI. Infra hos, propius flumen Cunetium, habitabant Segontiaci, quorum caput fuit Vindonum.

XII. Ad oceanum, Bibrocis affines, inferius habitabant, sic dicti, Belgæ, quorum urbes primariæ Clausentum, quod nunc Sotheamptona dicitur, Portus Magnus, omniumque præcipua Venta, nobilissima civitas ad flumen Antonam sita. Sorbiodunum vero tenebat præsidium Romanorum. Omnes enim Belgæ Allobroges sunt, et suam a Celtis Belgisque originem traxere: hi, non multis ante Cæsaris adventum in hanc insulam seculis, relicta patria, Gallia, a Germanorum Romanorumque populis infestata, atque devicta; illi, qui, trajecto flumine Rheni, eorum expugnatas occupavere regiones, de

quo autem prolixius M. Dictator Cæsar, sedem heic sibi elegerunt.

XIII. Omnes regiones quæ Thamesi, versus meridiem, adjacent, olim, uti vetera monumenta declarant, a bellicosa Senonum gente fuerunt occupatæ; qui, sub ductu et auspicio decantatissimi regis Brenni, peragrata Gallia, Alpibusque, adhuc inviis, sibi patefactis, Romam fastu elatam ista incursione vastam solo facile æquassent, nisi Rempublicam Romanam, quam more nutricis in sinu quasi gestare (dum infra destinatum ab illis fastigium agebat) videbantur Fata, cladem aversura Manlium clangore anseris excitassent, qui, circa montem unum pendentes, et nocte subeuntes, barbaros a summo Capitolio dejecit. Huic eadem Numinum cura Camillum postea auxilio misit, qui abeuntes a tergo aggressus ita cecidit, ut Senonici sanguinis inundatione omnia incendiorum vestigia deleret, urbemque ita ruinæ proximam ab interitu vindicaret. Senones autem ob valentissimam hanc expeditionem natale solum, ut cultoribus vacuum, ita præda refertissimum, alienæ genti, quam Belgas supra nominatos, fuisse, satis liquet, concesserunt.

XIV. Ad Sabrinam, Thamesi inferius, habitabant Hedui, urbes eorum Ischalis et Avalonia. Thermæ, quæ et Aquæ Solis nuncupabantur, Romanorum, qui hanc Brittaniæ oram tenebant, factæ colonia et

perpetua sedes; urbs nominatissima hæc erat, ad flumen Abonam sita, ibique fontes calidi, opiparo exsculpti apparatu, ad usus mortalium; quibus fontibus præsules erant Apollinis et Minervæ Numina, in quorum ædibus perpetui ignes nunquam labascunt in favillas, sed ubi ignis tabuit vertitur in globos saxeos.

XV. Infra Heduorum terras siti erant Durotriges, qui et Morini alias vocantur. Metropolin habebant Durinum et promuntorium Vindeliam. In horum finibus sensim coarctatur Brittania, et immensum efformare videtur brachium, quod irruptionem minitantem commode repellit oceanum.

XVI. In hoc brachio, quæ, intermissione Uxellæ amnis, Heduorum regioni protenditur, sita erat regio Cimbrorum. Utrumne vero modernum Walliæ nomen dederint, an vero antiquior sit Cimbrorum origo, non æque constat. Urbes illis præcipuæ Termolus et Artavia. Visuntur hic, antiquis sic dictæ, Herculis columnæ, et non procul hinc insula Herculea. Sed a fluminis Uxellæ finibus continuum procurrit montium jugum, cui nomen Ocrinum, extremumque ejus ad promuntorium ejusdem nominis extenditur.

XVII. Ultra Cimbros extremum insulæ angulum incolebant Carnabii, unde forsitan, quod hodieque

retinet nomen, obtinuit Carnubia. Urbes habebant Musidum et Halangium: cum vero has olim desertas propemodum et incultas Brittaniæ partes Romani nunquam salutaverint, minoris omnino momenti urbes eorum fuisse videntur, et historicis propterea neglectæ; geographis tamen memorantur promuntoria Bolerium et Antivestæum.

XVIII. Memoratis modo populis in littore oceani austrum versus affines ad Belgas-Allobroges sedem habebant Damnonii, gens omnium validissima, quæ ratio movisse videtur Ptolemæum, ut totum hunc terræ tractum, qui in mare brachii instar prætenditur, illis adscripserit. Urbes habebant Uxellam, Tamaram, Volubam, Ceniam, omniumque matrem Iscam, fluvio cognomini imminentem. Fluvii apud ipsos præcipui memorati modo Isca, Durius, Tamarus, atque Cenius. Ora eorum maritima promuntoria exhibet tria, de quibus mox paulo dicemus. Hanc regionem, utpote metallis abundantem, Phœnicibus, Græcis, et Gallis mercatoribus probe notam fuisse constat: hi enim ob magnam quam terra ferebat stanni copiam eo sua frequenter extendebant negotia; cujus rei præcipua sunt documenta supra nominata tria promuntoria, Helenis scilicet, Ocrinum, et Κριὸς μέτωπον, ut et nomina civitatum, Græcam Phœniciamque originem redolentia.

XIX. Ultra brachium in oceano sitæ sunt insulæ

Sygdiles, quæ etiam Oestrominides et Cassiterrides vocabantur, dictæ.

XX. Cum prænominatis Damnoniis Belgisque conjunctis XXX. prœlia commisisse narratur valentissimus ille imperator Vespasianus. Decem hi ad australes Thamesis et Sabrinæ ripas habitantes populi, a Romanis sensim subacti, eorumque regiones in provinciæ formam redactæ, quæ Brittania Prima fuit appellata, cum hic fuerit in istis terris primus Romanorum victoriæ fructus.

XXI. Succedit ordine Brittania Secunda, quæ a prioribus, interfluente Sabrina amne, discernitur: a provincia autem Flavia, tum memoratus amnis, tum Deva fluvius eandem sejungit, reliquum cingitur a mari interno. Hæc erat celebrata illa regio Silurum, tribus validissimis habitata populis, quos inter præ reliquis celebres Silures, proprie sic dicti, quam ab ora relicta turbidum Sabrinæ fretum distinguit: cujus homines, ut eruditissimus Solinus est author, etiam nunc custodiunt morem vetustum, nundinas ac nummum refutant, dant res et accipiunt; mutationibus necessaria potius quam pretiis parant. Deos percolunt, scientiam futurorum pariter viri ac fœminæ ostendunt.

XXII. Civitates Silurum, Sariconium, Magna, Gobaneum, et Venta eorum caput, fuerunt. Iscæ

vero, flumini imminentem urbem cognominem, tenebat Romanorum colonia, ibique per annos plures secunda legio, quæ Augusta alias vocabatur, stationem habebat, donec Valentiam et Rhutupin transferebatur. Hæc erat provinciæ Secundæ primaria Romana.

XXIII. Olim ac diu potens erat hæc Silurum regio, sed, cum eam regno Charaticus tenuit, longe potentissima: hic continuis novem annis, omnia Romanorum arma pro ludibrio habita, sæpe evertit, donec de illo, conjunctis viribus Romanos aggressuro, triumphavit Legatus Ostorius. Charaticus enim, prælio evadens, auxiliumque a vicinis regibus petens, per astutiam matronæ Romanæ Carthismanduæ cum rege Brigantiæ Venutio nuptæ, Romanis deditus est. Post id temporis mascule tantum suam ipsius ditionem idem ille populus defendit, usque dum a Varionio spoliatus, ac tandem a Frontino devictus, in formam Romanæ, cui Brittania Secunda, ut supra meminimus nomen erat, provinciæ suum redigi pateretur imperium.

XXIV. Duæ aliæ sub Siluribus gentes fuere, primum Ordovices, qui in septentrionali versus insulam Monam; et deinde Dimeciæ, qui in extrema versus occidentem parte degebant, ubi promuntorium quod Octorupium nuncupatur, unde in Hyberniam transitus XXX. milliarium. Dimeciarum

urbes Menapia, et primaria Muridunum. Lovantium vero sibi habitandum vendicaverant Romani. Ultra hos et Silurum terminos siti Ordovices, quorum urbes Mediolanum et Brannogenium. Sabrina in montibus illorum oriunda, majoribus tribus Brittaniæ fluviis merito accensetur, addito nempe Thamesi et Tavo. Elucet imprimis in historia nomen Ordovicum ob sumtam de inclutissimi ipsorum regis captivitate vindictam. Hinc enim toties redactum in angustias exercitum Romanorum tam misere vexarunt, ut de illorum fere imperio in hac regione actum fuisset, ni in tantæ cladis vindictam postea surrexisset dux Agricola, qui, victricia circumferens arma, totam quoque hanc gentem subjugavit, maximamque partem ferro delevit.

XXV. Huc quoque referendum illud, quod a septentrione Ordovicum situm, ab oceano alluitur, territorium, cum illorum regimini aliquandiu fuerit subjectum; hoc certo constat, quod illum Cangiani quondam inhabitaverint tractum, quorum urbs unica Segontium, promuntorio Cangano vicina. Inclyta hæc erat civitas, freto Meneviaco, contra Monam, religiosissimam insulam, ubi olim druides habitare, adjacet. In hac insula plurima sita erant oppida, tota autem insula in circuitu LX. m. p. fere complectitur, atque, ut refert Plinius, a Camaloduno colonia CC. m. p. abest. Fluvii apud ipsos Tosibus, qui et Canovius; pro terminis vero erat utraque Deva.

In hac vero regione mons Eriri celsissimus maximusque invenitur. Ordovicia una cum Cangiorum Carnabiorumque regionibus, ni fama me fallit, nomine Genaniæ, sub imperatoribus post Trajani principatum inclarescebat.

XXVI. Ordo jam ad illam nos deducit provinciam, quæ Flavia Romanis vocata: unde vero hoc nomen acceperit, utrum a matre Constantini Magni Flavia Julia Helena, ex his terris oriunda? an vero a Romanorum familia Flavia?—quominus determinari possit, obstat injuria temporum, quæ nobis invidet genuina quæ huc facerent antiquitatis monumenta.

XXVII. Ad fluvium Devam primo siti erant Carnabii, quibus habitatæ fuerunt Benonæ, Etocetum, Banchorium (monasterium totius insulæ celeberrimum, quod, in contentione Augustini eversum, non postea resurrexit), et reliquarum mater Uniconium, quæ, inter Brittaniæ civitates maximas, nomen possidebat. In extremo hujus terræ angulo fluminii Devæ imminebat cognominis Romanorum colonia Deva, opus vicesimæ legionis, quæ Victrix dicebatur, et olim illius erat regionis tutela. Hæc eadem esse existimatur quæ jam *West-Chestur* vocatur.

XXVIII. Infra nominatos regnum Cassium, a

rege Ptolemæo Catieuchlani appellatum, extendebatur, aut respublica potius, quæ ex binis gentibus coaluerat. Harum, quæ Sabrinæ proxima vocabatur Dobuni, vel, ut Dio celeberrimus scriptor annalibus inseruit, Boduni. Apud hos oritur flumen Thamesis, et deinde longo spatio per fines Heduorum, Attrebatum, Cassiorum, Bibrocorum, Trinobantum, et Cantiorum citatus fertur, et oceanum Germanicum influit. Urbes Dobunorum erant Salinæ, Branogena, ad sinistram Sabrinæ ripam, Alauna, et, cui reliquiæ nomen laudemque debent, Corinum, urbs perspicabilis, opus, ut tradunt, Vespasiani ducis. Glevum vero, in extremo regni contra regionem Silurum situm, Romana tenebat colonia, quam deduxit Claudius Cæsar, ut scriptores de istis temporibus affirmant. Finitimi illis Cassii, quorum urbes Forum Dianæ et Verulamium: cum vero hæc ad municipium dignitatem a Romanis evecta, ejus præ aliis urbibus eminentia illis omnino adscribenda. Hic natus erat D. Albanus Martyr. Hæc civitas ruina Camaloduni, Londiniique, in seditione a Bonduica excitata, cujus in annalibus mentionem facit eruditissimus Tacitus, involuta erat. Hi Cassii olim, præ ceteris insulæ gentibus, caput extulere, atque cum inclutissimo eorum rege Cassibellino (cui non paucæ nationes fuere tributariæ) dictator Cæsar multos eosdemque gravissimos, sub readventum ipsius in hanc insulam, habuit conflictus; sed ab ea-

dem ille gente cum Siluribus conjuncta fugatus, unde et emendatissimus Lucanus:

"Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis."

Adventante autem ipso imperatore Claudio, omnes eum vicinis fracti sunt, eorumque regio in formam Romanæ provinciæ redacta, nomineque, Cæsariensis, et postea Flavia, nuncupata.

XXIX. Juxta Cassios, ubi se oceano Thamesis propinquavit, regio Trinobantum sita erat; natio quæ non modo sponte in Romanorum concessit amicitiam, sed illis quoque, ut colonias ibi ponerent, metropolim suam Lundinum et Camalodunum ad mare sita obtulerunt. In hac urbe Flavia Julia Helena, piissima conjux Constantini Chlori, materque Constantini Magni, e sanguine regum Brittanicorum nasci memoriæ proditum dicunt. Prima autem hæc Romanorum in Brittania coloniarum erat, templo Claudii, imagine Victoriæ, cum aliis diversis ornamentis insignis. Lundinum enim mundo cognita civitas erat et erit. Primum Trinovantum, postea Londinium, dein Augusta, et nunc Londona rursum. Urbe Roma, secundum chronicorum fidem, sane antiquior est; super ripam Thamesis fluminis posita, et ipsa multorum emporium populorum terra marique venientium. Hæc a piissima illa imperatrice Helena, S. S. Crucis inventrice, circumvallata, atque,

si fides sit penes traditiones, quæ non semper erroneæ sunt, nominata est Augusta; tota autem Britannia Romana Insula.

XXX. Limes huic populo ad septentrionem flumen Surius, ultra quem habitabant Iceni, celeberrima natio, in duas gentes divisa, quarum prior, Cenomanni habitans, ad septentrionem Trinobantes et Cassios, ad orientem oceanum spectabat. Horum urbes Durnomagus et caput regionis Venta. Romanorum colonia erat Camboricum; in mare orientem versus procurrens lingula dicitur Flavia Extrema. Fluminum notissima sunt Garion, Surius, et Aufona, in sinum Metorin sese exonerans. Ex altera parte ad Aufonam incolebant, Carnabiis Brigantibus, et oceano vicini, Coitanni, in tractu sylvis obsito, qui, ut aliæ Brittonum sylvæ, Caledonia fuit appellata. De hac autem III. mentionem facit historicus ille Florus. Civitas primaria Coitannorum erat Ragæ; et præter hanc Romanorum colonia Lindum, in extrema ad orientem provinciæ ora. Totam vero regionem bifariam secat fluvius Trivona. Hæc Icenorum gens, quæ, utpote ferocissima bellique post hominum memoriam studiosissima, omissis tam rusticis quam civilibus artibus, sua sponte in Romanorum societatem accesserat, non tantum mox defecerat, sed ad sui quoque imitationem alios quam plurimos excitaverat, ab Ostorio duce primum sub jugum missa est. Aliquot post annos, quum rex ip-

sorum, et animo et opibus valentissimus, Præsutagus moriens Cæsarem ejusdemque posteros heredes fecerat. Romani autem Icenorum sic abutentes amicitia, ut nulli non se luxuriæ dederint, ab iisdem postea sociisque, sub ductu bellicosissimæ Bonduicæ, viduæ regis supra nominati, ita infesti ipsis sunt redditi, ut combustis deletisque ipsorum coloniis ac municipio, civium denique Romanorum LXXX. M. ferro misere sint trucidati; sed postea ad officium redegit Suetonius legatus, multis prudentiæ nominibus suspiciendus.

XXXI. Ad septentrionalem hujus regionis plagam oceano occurrit fluvius Abus, quondam terminorum provinciæ Maximæ unus, uti alter Seteja. Dicta quoque hæc provincia fuit Brigantiæ Regnum, scilicet ejusdem nominis regionem complexa, tribusque habitata nationibus. In extrema orientali plaga, ubi promuntoria Oxellum et Brigantum extrema in mare procurrunt, habitabant Parisii, quorum urbes Petuaria et Portus Felix.

XXXII. Supra hos, uti et ad latus, siti erant proprie sic dicti Brigantes, gens numerosissima, toti olim provinciæ leges præscribens. His cultæ civitates, Epiacum, Vinovium, Cambodunum, Cataracton, Galacum, Olicana, et primaria Isurium. Eboracum vero, ad Urum fluvium, caput provinciæ; primum colonia nomine Sextæ a Romanis factum,

sextæque deinde legionis, quæ Victrix dicebatur, sedes; deinceps vero plurium imperatorum præsentia illustrior factum, municipii quoque auctum prærogativis.

XXXIII. Totam in æquales fere partes provinciam dividunt montes Alpes Penini dicti; hi, ad Icenorum Carnabiorumque fines, ad fluvium Trivonam surgentes, continua serie per CL. milliaria septentrionem versus decurrunt.

XXXIV. Populi, ad occidentalem hujus jugi partem habitantes, sunt Volantii Sistuntiique, arctiori ut videtur fœdere conjuncti. Urbes habebant Rerigonum, Coccium et Lugubalium, quarum tamen posteriores binas Romanorum tenebant præsidia.

XXXV. Septentrionales hujus terræ limites tegebat murus iste stupendæ molis, a Romanis per isthmum ad longitudinem LXXX. milliarium extensus, cujus altitudo XII. crassities vero IIX. pedes æquabat,* turribusque ornatus, murus erat.

XXXVI. Gentem hanc, ab imperatore Claudio primum infestatam, deinde ab Ostorio legato devictam, postea a Cereali fractam, et magnam partem debellatam, ex historia colligitur: cum vero sponte se Agricolæ dedisset, pacem illi datam esse percepimus. Famam hujus gentis in historiis præcipue de-

lerunt turpia Reginæ ipsorum gesta inauditaque perfidia. Ipsa harum potentium nationum progenies erat, quæ novas electura sedes, ultimum ultro, patriæ, inter Alpes, Danubium, et Rhodanum jacenti, valedicebat. Ex his in Hyberniam postea nonnulli, sedem ibi fixuri, transierunt, ut ex documentis constat.

XXXVII. His borealiores erant nationes istæ validissimæ olim sub nomine Maætarum venientes, a quibus, mortuo patre, fratricida iste Bassianus suam turpiter pacem emit. Regiones, quas tenuere, sequentes erant, in orientem Ottadinia, inde Gadenia, post hanc Selgovia, deinde Novantia, supra hos etiam Damnia.

XXXVIII. Muro proximi habitabant Gadeni, quorum metropolis Curia. Ad oceanum vero propius siti Ottadini, eorumque caput Bremenium, ac apud hos fluvii Tueda, Alauna, et utraque Tina, infra murum decurrentes.

XXXIX. His occidentaliores ad Oceanum siti erant Selgovæ, eorumque urbes Corbantorigum, Uxellum et Trimontium, quam tamen sat diu tenuit præsidium Romanorum, quod antiqua memorant monumenta. Hujus regionis fluvii præcipui fuerunt Novius, Deva, et, ex parte, Ituna.

XL. Ultra Devam, nuper dictam, ad oceani quoque oram in extrema insulæ parte, Hyberniam versus, Novantes siti erant. Apud quos celebris illa Novantum Chersonesus, Hybernia distans milliaria XXVIII., hæc inter cuncta Brittaniæ promuntoria maxume borea antiquis credebantur, juxta vero, æque ac illi, causam non video. Metropolis horum Lucophibia, alias Casæ candidæ; fluvii vero Abrasuanus, Jena, et, ad orientem regionis terminus, Deva.

XLI. Supra Novantes, Selgovas, et Gadenos, interveniente montium Uxellorum serie, habitabant Damnii, prævalens quidem natio; sed quæ condito muro non parvum regionis suæ tractum amisit, a Caledoniis subjugatum et spoliatum. Præter illud, quod murum tuebatur præsidium Vanduarium tenebat Romanus miles.

XLII. Hic Brittania, rursus quasi amplexu oceani delectata, angustior evadit, quam alibi, idque ob duo ista rapidissima quæ infunduntur æstuaria, Bodotriam scilicet et Clottam. Contractus hic isthmus ab Agricola legato primum præsidio munitus erat; alium murum, in historiis nobilissimum, erexit imperator Antoninus, ad XXXV. circiter milliaria protensum; ut hoc medio barbarorum sisteret incursiones, qui et ab Ætio duce demum reparatus est, undecimque firmatus turribus. Has vero regiones

pro illa habeo provincia, quæ per victoriosam Romanorum aciem sub imperatore Theodosio revocata, atque in honorem imperatoris, tunc ad clavum imperii sedentis, Valentiana dicta putatur.

XLIII. Extra murum sita provincia Vespasiana. Hæc est illa Caledonia regio, a Romanis nimium quantum et desiderata militibus, et incolis valde defensa; negotium, cujus amplam historiæ Romanæ, alias nimis de istiusmodi rebus silentes, mentionem faciunt. Hic fluvium Tavum conspicere licet, qui longo cursu regionem in duas quasi partes dissecare videtur. Hic quoque arduum atque horrendum jugum Grampium offendimus, quod provinciam istam bifariam secabat. Atque hæc eadem erat regio, quæ, a commisso inter Agricolam et Galgacum prœlio, Romanis utilissimo, famam in annalibus habet insignem. Hic vires eorum veteresque castrametationes hodieque magnitudo ostendit mœnium; nam in loco ubi ingens supradictum prœlium habitum erat, quidam ordinis nostri, hanc viam emensi, affirmant se immania vidisse castra, aliaque argumenta Taciti relationem confirmantia.

XLIV. Nationes vero, Romanis hic subjectæ, ordine jam sequentur. Ultra isthmum, usque ad Tavum, gens erant Horestii, quorum urbes, post prætenturam quidem extructam, prius enim Damniis accensebantur, fuerunt Alauna, Lindum, et, re non

minus quam nomine reliquis gloriosior, Victoria, ab Agricola ad flumen Tavum XX. milliaria ab ejusdem in mare exitu, ædificata, memoriæ proditum dicunt.

XLV. Supra hos ultra Tavum, qui limites constituit, erant Vecturones, sive Venricones, quorum urbs primaria Orrea, fluvii vero Æsica et Tina.

XLVI. Oceani littus, ultra horum fines, accolebant Taixali, his urbium princeps Divana, fluvii autem Deva et Ituna. Pars Grampii montis, quæ, ut promuntorium, late se in oceanum, quasi in Germaniæ occursum, extendit, ab illis nomen mutatur.

XLVII. His contermini ad occidentem, interveniente montium Grampiorum serie, exstitere Vacomagi, qui amplissimam regionem tenebant, quorum urbes Tuessis, Tamea, et Banatia. Romanorum autem statio, simulque provinciæ urbs primaria, erat, ad ostium fluvii Varar in littore situm, Ptoroton. Notiores hujus regionis fluvii præter Vararem, qui provinciam terminabat, fuerunt Tuesis et Celnius.

XLVIII. Infra Vacomagos Tavumque habitabant Damnii-Albani; gentes parum notæ, et intra lacuum montiumque claustra plane reconditæ.

XLIX. Inferius adhuc Clottæ ripas accolebant Attacoti, gens toti aliquando olim Brittaniæ formidanda. Maxumus hic visitur lacus, cui nomen olim Lyncalidor, ad cujus ostium condita a Romanis urbs Alcluith, brevi tempore a duce Theodosio nomen sortita, qui occupatam a barbaris provinciam recuperaverat: cum hac comparari potuit nulla, utpote quæ, post fractas cæteras circumjacentes provincias, impetum hostium ultimo sustinuit.

L. Hæc provincia dicta est, in honorem familiæ Flaviæ, cui suam Domitianus imperator originem debuit, et sub quo expugnata, Vespasiana. Et, ni fallor, sub ultimis imperatoribus nominata erat Thule, de qua Claudianus vates his versibus facit mentionem:

"———— incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Hierne."

Sed non tam diu sub aquila suopte tenuerunt Romani, ut posteritati innotescerent ejusdem et nomina et subjectio. Cursorio hucusque oculo, qualis sub Romanorum imperio erat, Brittaniam lustravimus; restat ut parili compendio Caledoniorum terras lustremus.

De Caledonia.

LI. Licet tota ultra isthmum prædictum Brittania non improprie dici posset Caledonia, ipsi tamen Caledonii ultra Vararem sedem habuere, unde ducta

linea terminum Romani in Brittaniam imperii accurate satis ostendit. Citerior vero insulæ pars alio atque alio tempore ab illis possessa fuit, reliqua, ut supra meminimus, a Brittonibus barbaris occupata. Hucusque et proficiscentibus lumen aliquod fœnerant antiqua historiarum monumenta ; trajicientes autem Varar flumen, extincto lumine, in obscuro quasi versamur; et quamvis non nobis ignotum sit, extructas ibi pro limitibus imperii Romani fuisse aras, Ulyssemque, tempestate fluctibusque jactatum, heic vota persolvisse, siquidem condensæ arboribus sylvæ, cum perpetuis montium saxetis, ab ulteriori nos scrutatione prohibent. Relationem sequentem a mercatoribus Brittonibus fugitivis acceptam posterisque relictam, ut sufficientem æstimemus, necesse est.

LII. Ad occidentem igitur Vararis habitabant Caledonii, proprie sic dicti, quorum regionis partem tegebat immensa illa Caledonia sylva.

LIII. Littus incolebant minores quidam populi, ex quorum numero, ultra Vararem et erectas supradictas aras, ad Loxam fluvium habitabant Cantæ, in quorum finibus promuntorium Penoxullum.

LIV. Huic ordine proximus est fluvius Abona ejusdemque accolæ Logi. Hinc Ila fluvius, et ad illum siti Carnabii Brittonum extremi, qui ab Ostorio prætore subjugati, jugum Romanum indigne

ferentes, adscitis in societatem Cantiis, ut referunt traditiones, trajectoque mari ibi sedem eligunt. In varia heic promuntoria sese extendit Brittania, quorum primum antiquis dictum Vinvedrum, tum Verubrium, aut extremitas Caledoniæ.

LV. Post illos Catini; deinde, interiores Logisque proximi, Mertæ siti sunt. In his oris promuntorium Orcadum positum, cui adjacebant Orcades insulæ. Ulterius manabat Nabæus fluvius, qui terminus erat Carnabicæ jurisdictionis.

LVI. Ad inferiorem hujus regionis partem habitabant Carnonacæ, in quorum finibus promuntorium Ebudum, ad cujus extrema eximium oceanus sinum efformat, qui olim Volsas appellatus. Ad inferiorem istius sinus ripam tendebant Cerones, et infra Ityn Creones ad Longum usque procurrit. Inde oceanum inter et sinum Lelanum dictum ab incolis Epidiis promuntorium.

LVII. Provectus jam ultra flumen Vararis, idem illud remetiri non possum, quin in transgressu admirer Romanos, alias satis expertos judicio atque experientia, heic quasi destitutos tam perabsurda opinione laborasse, ut istam Brittaniæ partem, quæ jam armis ipsorum intacta quiescebat, reliquam jam subactam atque possessam, longe majori et longitudine et latitudine metirentur, (quam tamen eos

fovisse opinionem satis superque constat). Qui enim ea, qua par est, mente insignem Romanorum ambitionem atque insatiabilem regnandi cupidinem consideraverit, et quo hostem vix ira ipsorum et notitia, nedum timore dignum excluderent, stupenda ista, quæ totum orbem in admirationem sui facile trahunt, opera erexisse, in hoc ut in cæteris quam plurimis magnam summi Numinis merito providentiam veneremur, cui ut omnia subjecta sunt regna, ita et sempiterna ab incolis gloria debetur et erit. Amen!

CAPUT VII.

Lustratis ita pro instituti ratione cursim terris Brittanicis, necessarium videtur, antequam ad Insularum descriptionem aggrediar, dubio a non nemine moto occurrere; ubinam, inquit ille, earum quas tu nobis commemoras urbium nominumque vestigia? Habentur nulla! Licet vicissim quærere, ubinam hodie sint Assyrii, Parthi, Sarmatæ, Celtiberi? At qui has celeberrimas gentes exstitisse neget, impudentem satis spero futurum neminem. Nonne inveniuntur hodiernum regiones urbesque permultæ eisdem, quæ ante duo vel plura annorum millia habuerunt, quæ compellantur, nominibus? Judæa, Italia, Gallia, Brittania, non hodie minus quam priscis illis temporibus nota? Londinum hodieque lingua vernacula, sono non adeo discrepante, *London* appellatur. Incuria majorum et in colligendis ac conservandis illis, quæ huc facere et tunc temporis non difficulter haberi poterant, monumentis negligentia si attendatur, non adeo quidem graviter illa videtur increpanda, vel ut hujus defectus unica et primaria causa censenda, vix enim præter illos, qui ordini sacrorum se dederant, operam libris scribendis commodabant. Hi vero a sacro alienum censuerunt munere profanis istiusmodi, ut vocabant, negotiis

operam suam impendere. Crediderim potius nos sine periculo scire, et sine piaculo ad posteros transmittere posse, illa quæ de prisco regnorum statu sedula veterum monumentorum perlustratio et accuratius scrutinium poterit investigare. Ad aliud vero sentiendum me fere compulisset bonus ille Antistes, ita me compellare visus: Tune solus ignoras quam breve, nobis in hoc orbe, temporis spatium sit exigendum, omnesque nostros etiam laboriosissimos conatus ab inutilium servorum nomine nos non posse reddere immunes? omniaque nostra studia proximi usum pro scopo debent habere? Hæc! cui unquam sunt usui? Bullatis istiusmodi nugis mundum deludi! His merito reponimus: An ergo prohibita nobis simul omnis honesta delectatio? Nonne eximiæ divina providentiæ documenta produnt istiusmodi narrationes? Indene patet, quomodo evangelia de morte et merito Christi concio universum collustraverit et vicerit orbem gentilibus antea superstitionibus obnoxium? Obvertenti porro, non incongrue forte Chronologiæ istiusmodi res in compendio tractari, denuo repono: Nec ergo nimium quidquam est novisse, majores nostros non, ut nonnulli fabulantur, Autochtones fuisse, e terra prosilientes. Deum potius naturæ librum aperuisse, ut ex illo constaret magni opificis omnipotentia, qualis in Mosis voluminibus eadem descripta proponitur. Denique forte respondenti, operibus, authori apud posteros nomen laudemque parituris, exploratorium

ignem esse subeundum, hæc inquam dicenti, et in his subsistendi gratus profiteor tantum his verbis efficaciæ fuisse, ut etiam suborta michi nonnunquam fuerit cæpti hujus laboris pœnitentia. Ex altera proinde hujus opusculi parte præter Chronologicam rerum commemorationem amplius quidquam exspectare nolit Benevolus Lector, quem adeo benevolentiæ tutelæque Divinæ, paria ab ipso michi promittens, devotus commendo, sperans, ut me simul cœlesti Patri, qui misericors et condonationis plenus, commendet.

Ex fragmentis quibusdam a duce quodam Romano consignatis et posteritati relictis, sequens collectum est Itinerarium, ex Ptolemæo et aliunde nonnullis, ordinem quoque, sed quod spero in melius mutatum, hinc inde deprehendes.

FUERUNT olim apud Brittones XCII. urbes, earum vero celebriores et præ reliquis conspicuæ XXXIII.; municipia scilicet II., Verolamium et Eboracum. VIIII. coloniæ, sc. Londinium *Augusta*, Camalodunum *Geminæ Martiæ*, Rhutupis, ... Thermæ *Aquæ Solis*, Isca *Secunda*, Deva *Getica*, Glevum *Claudia*, Lindum, ... Camboricum ..... Et civitates Latio jure donatæ X., sc. Durnomagus, Catarracton, Cambodunum, Coccium, Lugubalia, Ptoroton, Victoria, Theodosia, Corinum, Sorbiodunum. Deinde XII. stipendiariæ minorisque momenti, scilicet Venta Silurum, Venta Belgarum, Venta Icenorum, Segontium, Muridunum, Ragæ, Cantiopolis, Durinum, Isca, Bremenium, Vindonum, et Durobrovæ. At præter allatas modo urbes, plures in Brittaniis non habuisse Romanos ne quis temere credat; celebriores enim tantum commemoravi; quis enim dubitet, illos, ut orbis terrarum dominatores, pro lubitu elegisse sibique vindicasse, quæ suis usibus commoda intelligebant loca? plerumque alias in castris, quæ condiderant ipsi, degebant.

Diaphragmata.

RHUTUPIS prima in Brittania insula civitas versus Galliam apud Cantios sita a Gessoriago Bonnoniæ portu, unde commodissimus in supradictam insulam transitus obtingit, CCCCL. stadia, vel ut alii volunt XLVI. mille passuum remota: ab eadem civitate ducta est via Guethelinga dicta, usque in Segontium per m. p. CCCXXIIII. plus minus sic:—Cantiopoli, quæ et Duroverno, m. p. X. Durosevo XII. Duroprovis XXV. deinde m. p. XXVII. transis Thamesin intrasque provinciam Flaviam et civitatem Londinium (Augustam), Sulo Mago m. p. VIIII. Verolamio municipio XII. unde fuit Amphibalus et Albanus Martyres. Foro Dianæ XII. Magio Vinio XII. Lactorodo XII. Isanta Varia XII. Tripontio XII. Benonis VIIII. Hic bisecatur via, alterutrumque ejus brachium Lindum usque, alterum versus Viriconium protenditur, sic:—Manduessuedo m. p. XII. Etocet oXIII. Pennocrucio XII. Uxaconia XII. Virioconio XI. Banchorio XXVI. Deva Colonia X. Fines Flaviæ et Secundæ, Varis m. p. XXX. Conovio XX. Seguntio XXIIII.

ITER II. A Seguntio Virioconium usque, m. p. LXXIII. sic:—Heriri monte m. p. XXV. Mediolano XXV. Rutunio XII. Virioconio XI.

ITER III. A Londinio Lindum coloniam usque,

sic:—Durosito m.p. XII. Cæsaro Mago XVI. Canonio XV. Camaloduno colonia VIIII. ibi erat templum Claudii, arx triumphalis, et imago Victoriæ deæ. Ad Sturium amnem m.p. VI. et finibus Trinobantum Cenimannos advenis, Cambretonio m. p. XV. Sito Mago XXII. Venta Cenom. XXIII. . . . . : Camborico colonia XX. Durali ponte XX. Durno Mago XX. Isinnis XX. Lindo XX.

Iter IIII. A Lindo ad Vallum usque, sic:—Argolico m. p. XIIII. Dano XX. Ibi intras Maximam Cæsariensem, Legotio m. p. XVI. Eboraco municip. olim colonia sexta m. p. XXI. Isurio XVI. Cattaractoni XXIIII. ad Tisam X. Vinovio XII. Epiaco XVIIII. ad Murum VIIII. trans Murum intras Valentiam. Alauna amne m. p. XXV. Tueda flumine XXX. ad Vallum. . . . . .

Iter V. A limite Præturiam usque, sic:—Curia m. p. . . . ad Fines m. p. . . . Bremenio m. p. . . . Corstoplio XX. Vindomora VIIII. Vindovio XVIIII. Cattaractoni XXII. Eboraco XL. Derventione VII. Delgovicia XIII. Præturio XXV.

Iter VI. Ab Eboraco Devam usque, sic:—Calcaria m. p. VIIII. Camboduno XXII. Mancunio XVIII. Finibus Maximæ et Flaviæ m. p. XVIII. Condate XVIII. Deva XVIII.

ITER VII. A Portu Sistantiorum Eboracum usque, sic :—Rerigonio m. p. XXIII. ad Alpes Peninos VIII. Alicana X. Isurio XVIII. Eboraco XVI.

ITER VIII. Ab Eboraco Luguvalium usque, sic :—Cattaractoni m. p. XL. Lataris XVI. Vataris XVI. Brocavonacis XVIII. Vorreda XVIII. Lugubalia XVIII.

ITER VIIII. A Luguballio Ptorotonim usque, sic : Trimontio m. p. . . . . Gadanica m. p. . . . . Corio m. p. . . . ad Vallum m. p. . . . Incipit Vespasiana. Alauna m. p. XII. Lindo VIIII. Victoria VIIII. ad Hiernam VIIII. Orrea XIIII. ad Tavum XVIIII. ad Æsicam XXIII. ad Tinam VIII. Devana XXIII. ad Itunam XXIIII. ad Montem Grampium m. p. . . . ad Selinam m. p. . . . . Tuessis XVIIII. Ptorotone m. p. . . . . .

ITER X. Ab ultima Ptorotone per mediam insulæ Isca Damnonorum usque, sic :—Varis m. p. VIII. ad Tuessim XVIII. Tamea XXVIIII. . . . . m. p. XXI. in Medio VIIII. Orrea VIIII. Victoria XVIII. ad Vallum XXXII. Luguballia LXXX. Brocavonacis XXII. ad Alaunam m. p. . . . . Coccio m. p. . . . . Mancunio XVIII. Condate XXIII. Mediolano XVIII. Etoceto m. p. . . . . Salinis m. p. . . . . Glebon colonia m. p. . . . Corino

XIIII. Aquas Solis m. p. . . . ad Aquas XVIII. ad Uxellam amnem m. p. . . . . Isca m. p. . . . . .

ITER XI. Ab Aquis per Viam Juliam Menapiam usque, sic:—ad Abonam m. p. VI. ad Sabrinam VI. unde trajectu intras in Brittaniam Secundam et stationem Trajectum m. p. III. Venta Silurum VIII. Isca colonia VIIII. unde fuit Aaron Martyr. Tibia amne m. p. VIII. Bovio XX. Nido XV. Leucaro XV. ad Vigesimum XX. ad Menapiam XVIIII. Ab hac urbe per XXX. m. p. navigas in Hyberniam.

ITER XII. Ab Aquis Londinium usque, sic:—Verlucione m. p. XV. Cunetione XX. Spinis XV. Calleba Attrebatum XV. Bibracte XX. Londinio XX.

ITER XIII. Ab Isca Uriconium usque, sic:—Bultro m. p. VIII. Gobannio XII. Magna XXIII. Branogenio XXIII. Urioconio XXVII.

ITER XIIII. Ab Isca per Glebon Lindum usque, sic:—Ballio m. p. VIII. Blestio XII. Sariconio XI. Glebon colonia XV. ad Antonam XV. Alauna XV. . . . . Vennonis XII. Ratiscorion XII. Venromento XII. Margiduno XII. ad Pontem XII. Croco colana Lindum XII.

ITER XV. A Londinio per Clausentum in Londini-

um, sic :—Caleba m. p. XLIIII. Vindomi XV. Venta Belgarum XXI. ad Lapidem VI. Clausento IIII. Portu Magno X. Regno X. ad Decimum X. Anderida portu m. p. . . . . ad Lemanum m. p. XXV. Lemaniano portu X. Dubris X. Rhutupis colonia X. Regulbio X. Contiopoli X. Durelevo XVIII. Mado XII. Vagnaca XVIII. Novio Mago XVIII. Londinio XV.

Iter XVI. A Londinio Ceniam usque, sic : Venta Belgarum m. p. XC. Brige XI. Sorbioduno VIII. Ventageladia XII. Durnovaria VIIII. Moriduno XXXIII. Isca Damnon. XV. . . . . Durio amne m. p. . . . . Tamara m. p. . . . . Voluba m. p. . . . . Cenia m. p. . . . . .

Iter XVII. Ab Anderida [Eboracum] usque, sic : Sylva Anderida m. p. . . . . Noviomago m. p. . . . . Londinio m. p. XV. ad Fines m. p. . . . . Durolisponte m. p. . . . . Durnomago m. p. XXX. Corisennis XXX. Lindo XXX. in Medio XV. ad Abum XV. unde transis in Maximam, ad Petuariam m. p. VI. deinde Eboraco, ut supra, m. p. XLVI.

Iter XVIII. Ab Eboraco per medium insulæ Clausentum usque, sic : Legiolio m. p. XXI. ad Fines

XVIII. . . . m. p. XVI. . . . . m. p. XVI. . . . . Derventione m. p. XVI. ad Trivonam XII. Etoceto XII. Manduessuedo XVI. Benonnis XII. Tripontio XI. Isannavaria XII. Brinavis XII. Ælia castra XVI. Dorocina XV. Tamesi VI. Vindomi XV. Clausento XLVI.

Plurima insuper habebant Romani in Brittaniis castella, suis quæque muris, turribus, portis, et repagulis munita.

Finis Itinerariorum.

Quod hactenus auribus, in hoc capite percipitur pene oculis intuentibus: nam huic adjuncta est mappa Brittaniæ artificialiter depicta, quæ omnia loca cet. evidenter exprimit, ut ex ea cunctarum regionum incolas dignoscere detur.

CAPUT VIII.

I. Lustravimus jam Albionem, disitæ non procul inde Hyberniæ, eadem, qua hactenus usi fuimus brevitate, descriptionem daturi.

II. Hybernia omnium, post Albionem dictam nuper, maxume est ad occidentem quidem sita, sed, sicut contra septemtriones ea brevior, ita in meridiem sese trans illius fines plurimum protendens, usque contra Hispaniæ Tarraconensis septentrionalia, quamvis magno æquore interjacente, pervenit.

III. Mare, quod Brittaniam et Hyberniam interfluit, undosum et inquietum est, toto, ut author est Solinus, anno, non nisi æstivis pauculis diebus, navigabile. In medio inter ambas insula est, quæ olim appellabatur Monœda, nunc autem Manavia.

IV. Hybernia autem, et sui status conditione, et salubritate ac serenitate aëris, multum Brittaniæ præstat, ut opinatur Beda, ita, ut raro ibi nix plus quam triduaria remaneat, nemo propter hiemem aut fœna secet, aut stabula fabricet jumentis.

V. Nullum ibi reptile videri solet, nullæ viperæ

aut serpentes valent; nam sæpe illo de Brittania allati serpentes mox, ut proximante terris navigio odore aëris illius adtacti fuerint, intereunt. Quin potius omnia pene, quæ de eadem insula sunt, contra venenum valent. Denique vidimus, quibusdam a serpente percussis, rasa folia codicum, qui de Hybernia fuerunt, et ipsam rasuram aquæ immissam ac potui datam talibus protinus totam vim veneni grassantis totum inflati corporis absumsisse, ac sedasse tumorem.

VI. Dives lactis et mellis insula, nec vinearum expers, piscium volucrumque, sed et cervorum caprearumque venatu insignis, ut author est venerabilis Beda.

VII. Cultores ejus, inquit Mela, inconditi sunt et omnium virtutum ignari, magis quam aliæ gentes, aliquatenus tamen gnari pietatis ad modum expertes. Gens inhospita et bellicosa a Solino Polyhistore dicti sunt. Sanguine interemptorum hausto prius victores vultus suos oblinunt. Fas ac nefas eodem animo ducunt. Puerpera, si quando marem edidit, primos cibos gladio imponit mariti, inque os parvuli summo mucrone, auspicium alimentorum leviter infert, et gentilibus votis optat, non aliter quam in bello et inter arma mortem oppetat. Qui student cultui, dentibus mari nantium belluarum insigniunt ensium capulos, candicant enim ob he-

burneam claritatem. Nam præcipua viris gloria est in armorum splendore.

VIII. Agrippa, geographus Romanus, longitudinem Hyberniæ DC. millia passuum esse, latitudinem vero CCC. statuit. XX. olim gentibus habitata, quarum XIIX. littus tenebant.

IX. Hæc autem propria Scottorum patria erat; ab hac egressi, tertiam in Albione Brittonibus et Pictis gentem addiderunt. Sed non idem cum magno authore Beda sentio, qui Scottos peregrinos esse affirmat: nam, ut existimo, suam ex Brittania non procul sita originem duxerunt, inde trajecisse, atque in hac insula sedes occupasse, fidem faciunt authores. Certissimum vero est Damnios, Voluntios, Brigantes, Cangos, aliasque nationes origine fuisse Brittanica, quæ eo postea trajecerunt, postquam, vel Divitiacus, vel Claudius, vel Ostorius, vel duces alii victores, illis domi tumultum fecerant. Pro ulteriori argumento inservit lingua antiqua, quæ cum antiqua illa Brittanica et Gallica non parum consonat, id quod omnibus utriusque linguæ gnaris satis planum videtur.

X. Septentrionali Hyberniæ lateri obtenditur oceanus Deucaledonicus; orientale tegunt Vergivus et Internus, Cantabricus vero australe, uti occidentale magnus ille Brittanicus, qui et Athlanti-

cus oceanus; quem nos quoque ordinem secuti dabimus insulæ et præcipuorum in illa locorum descriptionem.

XI. Illud, quod ab oceano Deucaledonico alluitur, hujus insulæ latus habitabant Rhobogdii, cujus metropolis Rhobogdium erat; in quorum orientali regione situm erat ejusdem nominis promuntorium, in occidentali, Boreum promuntorium. Fluvii vero Banna, Darabouna, Argitta, et Vidua, austrum versus a Scottis ipsos separabant montes.

XII. Infra promuntorium Boreum littus Brittanici maris ad Venicnium usque caput incolebant gentes Venicniæ, quibus nomen debent ab illis dictæ vicinæ insulæ Venicniæ, inferius ad ostium usque Rhebii fluminis, quarum metropolis Rheba. Infra Rhebeum Nagnatæ habitabant ad Libnium usque, quorum celebris erat ejusdem nominis metropolis. Austrum versus, in recessu sinus Ausobæ siti erant Auterii, quibus urbium caput erat ejusdem nominis. Inferiorem ejusdem regionis partem occupabant Concangii, ad quorum fines austrum versus manabat Senus, amplus omnino fluvius, cui adjacebat urbium primaria Macobicum. In angustum heic apicem coarctata desinit Hybernia. Prope Austrinum promuntorium, ad flumen Senum, sedes habebant Velatorii, quorum metropolis Regia, fluviusque Durius. Lucani vero habitabant, ubi oceano miscetur fluvius Ibernus.

XIII. Ultra Austrinum meridionale insulæ latus ab eodem promuntorio ad Sacrum usque extremum tendebat. Ibernii ad illud habitabant, quibus metropolis Rhufina. Hinc fluvius Dobona, ac deinde Vodiæ, cum promuntorio ejusdem nominis, quod promuntorio Albionis Antivestæo obvertitur, distans inde milliaribus CXXXXV. Non procul inde Dabrona fluvius Brigantum regionis terminus, qui fines regionis fluvium Brigas et urbem habebant Brigantiam.

XIV. Pars hujus insulæ, a Sacro promuntorio ad Rhobogdium usque extensa, Orientalis censetur. Habitantes supra promuntorium Sacrum Menapii, primariam habebant ejusdem nominis urbem ad fluvium Modonam. Hinc ad Menapiam, in Dimetia sitam, XXX. milliaria numerantur, ut Plinius refert. Harum unam, quam nam vero incertum, patriam habebat Carausius. Ultra horum terminos metropolin Dunum habebant Cauci, quorum fines alluebat fluvius Oboca. Teutonicæ binas has nationes originis esse extra dubium est: incertum vero quo tempore primum in has terras eorum majores trajecerint. Brevi ante Cæsaris in Brittaniam transitum id contigisse maxume videtur probabile.

XV. Eblanæ ulterius habitabant, primariam vero ad Lœbium flumen habentes Mediolanum. Septentrionali viciniores Voluntii civitatem habebant

Lebarum, fluvios autem Vinderum et Buvindam. Superiorem his insulæ partem, Rhobogdiis affinem, tenebant Damnii, his urbium caput Dunum, ubi sepulti creduntur D. Patricius, D. Columba, et D. Brigitta, eodem tumulo reconditi.

XVI. Restat jam, ut eorum qui interiorem hujus insulæ partem habitabant populorum mentio injiciatur. Contermini Caucis et Menapiis, supra Brigantes autem, incolebant Coriondii, reliquam insulæ partem Scotti habebant, quibus Scotiæ nomen tota exinde debet. Plures inter, quas illi habebant, civitates præ cæteris innotuerunt tantum duæ, quarum ad nos pervenit memoria. Altera Rheba ad flumen et lacum Rhebium, Ibernia altera, sita ad orientale Seni fluminis latus.

XVII. Non possum non hoc loco monere Damnios, Voluntios, Brigantes, et Cangianos omnes fuisse Britannicæ originis nationes, quæ, cum vel ab hoste finitimo non daretur quies, vel tot tantaque exigerentur tributa, quibus solvendis se impares intelligerent, sensim, novas quæsituræ sedes, in hanc terram trajecerant. Dictum jam antea de Menapiis, Chaucis, nec de iis, quæ offeruntur ulterius, plura occurrunt, quibus tuto fides potest haberi. Refert quidem, Augustæ Historiæ scriptor, Tacitus, quod pluribus quam Albion peregrinis Hybernia fuerit frequentata. At, si res ita revera se habuisset, vix

dubitandum videtur, plura nobis de statu Hyberniæ, et fide digniora veteres fuisse relicturos. Relicturoque jam michi descriptionem Hyberniæ non abs re fore videtur docere, hanc, non armis, sed metu tantum sub Romanorum redactam fuisse imperium. Quin potius regem Ptolemæum in secunda Europæ tabula, aliosque veterum inclutissimorum geographorum, in situ illius delineando errasse, utpote quæ hanc non solum justo longius a Brittania, sed etiam prorsus a parte boreali provinciæ Secundæ, statuerunt; id quod ex ipsorum libris et tabulis huc spectantibus patet abunde.

XVIII. Super Hyberniam sitæ erant Hebudes, V. numero, quarum incolæ nesciunt fruges, piscibus tantum et lacte viventes. Rex unus est, ut scribit Solinus, universis, nam quotquot sunt, omnes angusto interluvio dividuntur. Ille rex nichil suum habebat, omnia universorum. Ad æquitatem certis legibus adstringitur, ac, ne avaritia a vero rectoque eum seduceret, discebat ex paupertate justitiam, utpote cui nichil esset rei familiaris, verum alitur e publico. Nulla illi dabatur fœmina propria, sed per vicissitudines, in quamcunque commotus fuisset, sibi vendicat usurariam, unde ei nec votum nec spes conceditur liberorum. De Hebudibus hisce nonnulli scripserunt dies continuos XXX. sub bruma esse noctem, sed dictator Cæsar nichil de eo, studiose licet inquirens, reperiebat, nisi, quod certis ex

æqua mensuris breviores fuisse noctes quam in Gallia intellexerit.

XIX. Secundam a continenti stationem Orcades præbent, quæ ab Hebudibus porro, sed erroneè, sunt VII. dierum totidemque noctium cursu, ut scripserunt nonnulli; numero XXX., angustis inter sese deductæ spatiis, vacabant homine, non habebant sylvas, tantum junceis herbis horrescentes. Cætera earum nil nisi arenæ et rupes tenent, ut ego, ex Solino cum aliis colligi posse, habeo persuasum.

XX. Thule ultima omnium, quæ Brittanicæ vocantur, Belgarum littori apposita statuitur a Mela. Græcis Romanisque celebrata carminibus, de quo Homerus Mantuanus:

"——— Et tibi serviat ultima Thule."

In ea solstitio nullas esse noctes indicavimus, cancri signum sole transeunte, ut author est Plinius, nullosque contra perbrumam dies; hæc quidem senis mensibus continuis fieri arbitrantur. Qui hic habitant, ut refert Solinus, principio veris inter pecudes pabulis vivunt, deinde lacte, in hyemem conferunt arborum fructus. Utuntur fœminis vulgo, certum matrimonium nullis. Thule autem larga et diutina pomona copiosa est, ut tradit idem author. Ultra Thulen unius diei navigatione accepimus pigrum esse et concretum mare, a nonnullis Cronium ap-

pellatur. A Thule in Caledoniam bidui navigatio est.

XXI. Thanatos insula alluitur freto oceani, a Brittaniæ continente æstuario tenui, Wantsuam dicto, separata; frumentariis campis felix, et gleba uberi; nec tantum sibi soli, verum et aliis salubribus locis, ut author est Isidorus, cum ipsa nullo serpatur angue, asportata inde terra, quoquo gentium invecta sit, angues necat. Hæc non longe abest a Rhutupi sita.

XXII. Vecta, a Vespasiano devicta olim, insula est, proximum Belgis habet ab oriente in occasum XXX. circiter millia passuum, ab austro in boream XII. in orientalibus suis partibus mari VI. millium, in occidentalibus III., a meridionali supra scripto littore distans.

XXIII. Præter supradictas insulas fuerunt etiam VII. Acmodæ, Ricnea, Silimnus, Andros, Sigdiles XL., Vindilios, Sarna, Cæsarea, et Cassiterides.

XXIV. Sena, Ossismicis adversa littoribus, Gallici Numinis oraculo insignis est, ut author est Mela; cujus antistites, perpetua virginitate sanctæ, numero IX. esse traduntur; Senas Galli vocant, putantque ingeniis singularibus præditas, maria ac ventos concitare carminibus, seque in quæ velint animalia ver-

tere, sanare quæ apud alios insanabilia sunt. Scire ventura et prædicere, sed non nisi deditæ navigantibus, et ob id tantum ut se consulerent eo profectis.

XXV. Reliquæ Albioni circumfusæ minoris peripheriæ et momenti insulæ, ex depictæ adjectæque mappæ inspectione melius, quam ex nudo quodam recensu, censeri ac dignosci possunt. Heic itaque subsisto meumque his rebus locatum studium Benevolo Lectori, ejusque favori et judicio studiose commendo.

Explicit feliciter, Deo juvante, Liber primus Commentarioli Geographici de situ Brittaniæ, et stationum quas Romani ipsi in ea Insula ædificaverunt, per manum meam Ricardi, famuli Christi et monachi Westmonasteriensis.

Deo gratias.

RICARDI

MONACHI WESTMONASTERIENSIS

COMMENTARIOLI GEOGRAPHICI

DESCRIPTIONIS BRITTANIÆ

SUB DITIONE ROMANI IMPERII.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

PRÆFATIO.

In supplementum datæ hucusque Brittaniæ antiquæ descriptionis deductum parili compendio subjungere consultum duxi :— 1

I. Chronologiæ, a prima inde orbis origine ad vastatam a Gothis Romam deductæ, epitomen, et 2

II. Imperatorum Legatorumque Romanorum qui huic regioni cum imperio præfuerant brevem recensum.

Dicant forte nonnulli potuisse istiusmodi ope- 3

ram, utpote non absolute necessariam, vel cultui divino, vel majoris momenti rebus impendi. At sciant illi et subsecivas horas antiquitatibus patriis pristinique terrarum status investigationi posse vindicari, ut tamen nichil propterea sacro cultui decedat. Sin vero Momus istiusmodi captatam ex otio licito voluptatem nobis invideat, ad finem properans metæque jam adstitutus, heic pedem figo.

CAPUT I.

In principio mundum, nobis hodiernum reliquisque creaturis habitatum, VI. dierum spatio ex nihilo condidit omnipotens Creator. 4

Anno Mundi MDCLVI. Crescentem continuo usu humani generis malitiam vindicaturus, Creator diluvium orbi immisit, quod totum obruens mundum, omnem delevit viventium ordinem, solis, quæ arcam intraverant, exceptis et servatis, quorum deinceps propago novis animalium colonis novum orbem replevit. 5

A. M. MMM. Circa hæc tempora cultam et habitatam primum Brittaniam arbitrantur nonnulli, cum illam salutarent Græci Phœnicesque mercatores. Nec desunt, qui a rege quodam Brytone non diu postea conditum credunt Londinium. 6

A. M. MMMCCXXVIII. Prima urbis Romæ, quæ gentium exinde communis terror, fundamenta posuerunt fratres Romulus et Remus. 7

A. M. MMMDC. Egressi e Brittania per Gal- 8

liam Senones Italiam invasere, Romam oppugnaturi.

9 *A. M.* MMMDCL. Has terras intrarunt Belgæ, Celtæque desertam a Senonibus regionem occuparunt. Non diu postea cum exercitu in hoc regnum transiit rex Æduorum Divitiacus, magnamque ejus partem subegit. Circa hæc tempora in Hyberniam commigrarunt, ejecti a Belgis Brittones, ibique sedes posuerunt, ex illo tempore Scotti appellati.

10 *A. M.* MMMDCCCCXLIII. Gestum est Cassibelini cum civitatibus maritimis bellum.

11 *A. M.* MMMDCCCCXLVI. Cæsar Germanos et Gallos capit, et Brittones quoque, quibus ante eum ne nomen quidem Romanorum cognitum fuerat, victor, obsidibus acceptis, stipendarios facit.

12 *A. M.* MMMDCCCCXLVII. Denuo in has terras profectus, bellum gessit cum rege Cassiorum Cassibellino, invitatus, ut ipse quidem prætendit, a Trinobantibus. Sed, quod majore veri specie tradit Suetonius, potius avaritiem ipsius sollicitantibus prætiosis Brittaniæ margaritis.

13 *A. M.* MMMMXLIV. Ipse in Brittaniam

profectus imperator Claudius, semestri spatio, absque ulla vi aut sanguinis effusione, magnam insulæ partem in suam redegit potestatem, quam exinde Cæsariensem jussit vocari.

A. M. MMMMXLV. Missus ab imperatore Claudio cum II. legione in has terras Vespasianus, adhuc in privata vita, Belgas Damnoniosque oppugnavit, tandemque, commissis præliis XXXII. urbibus XX. expugnatis, sub obsequium Romani imperii redegit, una cum insula Vecta. 14

A. M. MMMMXLVII. Thermas et Glebon occupaverunt Romani. 15

A. M. MMMML. Post novennale bellum regem Silurum Charaticum vicit dux Romanorum Ostorius, magna Brittaniæ pars in formam provinciæ redacta, et Camalodunensis coloniæ posita fundamenta. 16

A. M. MMMMLII. Cogibundo urbes quædam apud Belgas a Romanis concessæ, ut inde sibi conderet Regnum. Circa hæc tempora, relicta Brittania, Cangi et Brigantes in Hyberniam commigrarunt sedesque ibi posuerunt. 17

A. M. MMMMLXI. Nero imperator, in re 18

militari nichil omnino ausus, Brittaniam pene amisit. Nam duo sub illo nobilissima oppida illic capta atque eversa sunt. Nam insurrexit contra Romanos Bondvica, illatam sibi a Romanis injuriam vindicatura, colonias illas Romanorum, Londinium, Camalodunum, et municipium Verulamium igne delevit, occisis ultra octoginta millibus civium Romanorum. Superata illa tandem a Suetonio, qui acerrime illatum Romanis damnum vindicavit, occiso subditorum ejus æquali numero.

19 *A. M.* MMMMLXXIII. Brigantes vicit Cerealis.

20 *A. M.* MMMMLXXVI. Ordovices plectit Frontinus.

21 *A. M.* MMMMLXXX. Magnum cum rege Caledoniorum Galgaco prælium committit Agricola, eoque devicto, totam insulam cum classe lustrari jubet, maritimamque ipsius oram totus obiens, Orcades submittit imperio Romano.

22 *A. M.* MMMMCXX. Ipse in Brittaniam transit Hadrianus imperator, immensoque muro unam insulæ partem ab altera sejungit.

23 *A. M.* MMMMCXL. Missus ab Antonino Pio Urbicus victoriis inclarescit.

A. M. MMMMCL. Nonnullas quoque a Brit- 24
tanis victorias reportat Aurelius Antoninus.

A. M. MMMMCLX. Luce Christianismi, 25
regnante Lucio rege, collustratur Brittania; rege
Cruci Christi se primum submittente.

A. M. MMMMCLXX. Provincia Vespasiana 26
ejiciuntur Romani. Hoc circiter tempore, ex in-
sulis in Brittaniam cum Pictis suis advenisse cre-
ditur Reuda rex.

A. M. MMMMCCVII. Destructum, a Ro- 27
manis conditum, murum restituit transiens in
Brittaniam Severus imperator, et non diu post
Eboraci, manu Dei, moritur.

A. M. MMMMCCXI. Venalem a Mæatis 28
pacem obtinuit Bassianus.

A. M. MMMMCCXX. Per hæc tempora in- 29
tra mœnia se continent Romani milites, altaque
pace tota perfruitur insula.

A. M. MMMMCCXC. Carausius, sumpta 30
purpura, Brittanias occupavit; post X. annos per
Asclepiodorum Brittania recepta.

A. M. MMMMCCCIIII. Persecutio crudelis 31

et crebra flagrabat, ut intra unum mensem XVII. millia martyrum pro Christo passa inveniantur; quæ et oceani limbum transgressa Albanum, Aaron, et Julium Brittones, cum aliis pluribus viris et fœminis, felici cruore damnavit.

32 *A. M.* MMMMCCCVI. Constantius, XVI. imperii anno, summæ mansuetudinis et civilitatis vir, victo Alecto, in Brittania diem obiit Eboraci.

33 *A. M.* MMMMCCCVII. Constantinus, qui Magnus postea dicitur, Constantii ex Brittanica Helena filius, in Brittaniis creatus imperator, cui se sponte tributariam offert Hyberniam.

34 *A. M.* MMMMCCCXX. Ductu regis Fergusii in Brittaniam transeunt Scotti, ibique sedem figunt.

35 *A. M.* MMMMCCCLXXXV. Theodosius Maximum tyrannum III. ab Aquileia lapide interfecit. Qui, quoniam Brittaniam omni pene armata juventute copiisque spoliaverat militaribus, quæ, tyrannidis ejus vestigia secutæ in Gallias, nunquam ultra domum rediere, videntes, transmarinæ gentes sævissimæ, Scottorum a circio, Pictorum ab aquilone, destitutam milite ac

defensore insulam, adveniunt, et vastatam direptamque eam multos per annos opprimunt.

A. M. MMMMCCCXCVI. Brittones Scotto- 36
rum Pictorumque infestationem non ferentes, Romam mittunt, et, sui subjectione promissa, contra hostem auxilia flagitant, quibus statim missa legio magnam barbarorum multitudinem sternit, cæteros Brittaniæ finibus pellit, ac, domum reversura, præcepit sociis, ad arcendos hostes, murum trans insulam inter duo æstuaria statuere. Qui, absque artifice magistro magis cespite quam lapide factus, nil operantibus profuit: nam mox, ut discessere Romani, advectus navibus prior hostis, quasi maturam segetem, obvia quæque sibi cædit, calcat, devorat.

A. M. MMMMCCCC. Iterum petiti auxilia 37
Romani advolant, et cæsum hostem trans maria fugant conjunctis sibi Brittonibus, murum non terra, ut ante pulvereum, sed saxo solidum, inter civitates, quæ ibidem ob metum hostium fuerunt factæ, a mari usque ad mare collocant. Sed et in littore meridiano maris, quia et inde hostis Saxonicus timebatur, turres per intervalla ad prospectum maris statuunt. Id Stilichontis erat opus, ut ex his Claudiani versibus constat:

" ——— Caledonio velata Brittania monstro,
Ferro Picta genas, cujus vestigia verrit

Cærulus, oceanique æstum mentitur, amictus:
Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
Munivit Stilicho, totam cum Scottus Hybernam
Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Thetys.
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne littore toto
Prospicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis."

38 *A. M.* MMMMCCCCXI. Occupata a Gothis est Roma, sedes quartæ et maxumæ monarchiarum, de quibus Daniel fuerat vaticinatus, anno milesimo centesimo sexagesimo quarto suæ conditionis. Ex quo autem tempore Romani in Brittania regnare cessarunt, post annos ferme CCCCLXV. ex quo C. Julius Cæsar eandem insulam adiit.

39 *A. M.* MMMMCCCCXLVI. Recedente a Brittaniis legione Romana, cognita Scotti et Picti reditus denegatione, redeunt ipsi, et totam ab aquilone insulam pro indigenis muro tenus capescunt, nec mora, cæsis, captis, fugatisque custodibus muri et ipso interrupto, etiam intra illum crudelis prædo grassatur. Mittitur epistola lachrymis ærumnisque referta ad Romanæ potestatis virum Fl. Ætium, ter consulem, vicesimo tertio Theodosii principis anno petens auxilium, nec impetrat.

CAPUT II.

I. VERITATEM, quoad fieri licuit, sectatus fui, si quid occurrat forte, illi non exacte congruum, illud michi ne imputetur vitiove vertatur rogo. Me enim ad regulas legesque historiæ sollicite componens, ea bona fide collegi aliorum verba et relationes, quæ sincera maxume deprehendi et fide dignissima. Ad cætera præter elenchum imperatorum legatorumque Romanorum, qui huic insulæ cum imperio præfuerunt, amplius quidquam expectare nolit lector, quocumque meum opus finiam.

II. Igitur, primus omnium Romanorum dictator Julius cum exercitu, principatu Cassibellino, Brittaniam ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas, ut Tacitus refert, ac littore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse.

III. Mox bella civilia, et in rempublicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio Brittaniæ etiam in pace. Consilium id Augustus vocabat, Tiberius præceptum. Agitasse Caligulam de intranda Brittania satis constat, ni velox ingenio, mobilisque pœnitentia, et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent.

IV. Claudius vero Brittaniæ intulit bellum, quam nullus Romanorum post Julium Cæsarem attigerat, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque, sine ullo prœlio ac sanguine, intra paucissimos dies partem insulæ in ditionem recepit. Deinde misit Vespasianum, adhuc in privata vita, qui tricies et bis cum hoste conflixit, duas validissimas gentes cum regibus eorum, XX. oppida et insulam Vectem, Brittaniæ proximam, imperio Romano adjecit. Reliquas devicit per Cnæum Sentium et Aulum Plautium, illustres et nobiles viros, et triumphum celebrem egit.

V. Subinde Ostorius Scapula, vir bello egregius, qui in formam provinciæ proximam partem Brittaniæ redegit. Addita insuper veteranorum colonia Camalodunum. Quædam civitates Cogiduno regi donatæ; is ad Trajani usque principatum fidelissimus mansit, ut Tacitus scribit.

VI. Mox Avitus Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora permotis, per quæ fama aucti officii quæreretur.

VII. Didium Verannius excepit, isque intra annum exstinctus est.

VIII. Suetonius hinc Paulinus biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus, firmatisque præsidiis, quorum fiducia Monam insulam, ut vires rebellibus

ministrantem, aggressus terga occasioni patefecit. Namque legati absentia remoto metu Brittones accendere, atque Bonduica, generis regii fœmina, duce, sumpsere universi bellum; ac sparsos per castella milites consectati, expugnatis præsidiis, ipsam coloniam invasere, ut sedem servitutis, nec ullum in barbaris sævitiæ genus omisit ira et victoria. Quod, nisi Paulinus, eo cognito provinciæ motu prospere subvenisset, amissa Brittania foret, quam unius prœlii fortuna veteri patientiæ restituit; tenentibus arma plerisque, quos conscientia defectionis, et proprius ex legato timor, agitabat.

IX. Hic cum egregius cætera, arrogantes in deditos et ut suæ quoque injuriæ ultor, durius consuleret; missus Petronius Turpilianus tanquam exorabilior et delictis hostium novus, eoque pœnitentiæ mitior: compositis prioribus, nichil ultra ausus, Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit.

X. Trebellius segnior et nullis castrorum experimentis, comitate quadam curandi, provinciam tenuit. Didicere jam barbari quoque Brittones ignoscere vitiis blandientibus; et interventus civilium armorum, præbuit justam segnitiæ excusationem. Sed discordia laboratum, cum assuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret. Trebellius fuga ac latebris vitata exercitus ira, indecorus atque hu-

milis, præcario mox præfuit, ac velut pacti, exercitus licentiam, dux salutem. Hæc seditio sine sanguine stetit.

XI. Nec Vectius Bolanus manentibus adhuc civilibus bellis, agitavit Brittaniam disciplina. Eadem inertia erga hostes, similis petulantia castrorum: nisi quod innocens Bolanus et nullis delictis invisus charitatem paraverat loco authoritatis.

XII. Sed ubi, cum cætero orbe, Vespasianus et Brittaniam recuperavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes: et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerealis, Brigantum civitatem, quæ numerosissima provinciæ totius perhibetur, aggressus. Multa prœlia et aliquando non incruenta: magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria amplexus, aut bello.

XIII. Sed cum Cerealis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset, sustinuit quoque molem Julius Frontinus, vir magnus quantum licebat; validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit, super virtutem hostium locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.

XIV. Successit huic Agricola, qui non solum acquisitam provinciæ pacem constituit, sed etiam annos

septem plus minus continuis Caledonios, cum bellicosissimo rege ipsorum Galgaco, debellavit. Quo facto Romanorum ditioni gentes non antea cognitas adjunxit.

XV. Majorem vero Agricolæ gloriam invidens Domitianus, domum eum revocavit, legatumque suum Lucullum in Brittanias misit, quod lanceas novæ formæ appellari Lucculeas passus esset.

XVI. Successor ejus Trebellius erat, sub quo duæ provinciæ, Vespasiana scilicet et Maæta, fractæ sunt. Romani se ipsos autem luxuriæ dederunt.

XVII. Circa idem tempus insulam hancce visitans Hadrianus imperator murum, opus sane mirandum et maxume memorabile, erexit, Juliumque Severum legatum in Brittaniis reliquit.

XVIII. Postea nichil unquam notatu dignum audivimus esse perpetratum, donec Antoninus Pius per legatos suos plurima bella gessit, nam et Brittones, per Lollium Urbicum proprætorem et Saturninum præfectum classis, vicit, alio muro, submotis barbaris, ducto. Provinciam postea Valentiæ nomine notam revocavit.

XIX. Pio mortuo, varias de Brittonibus Ger-

Germanisque victorias reportavit Aurelius Antoninus.

XX. Mortuo autem Antonino, cum ea quæ Romanis ademerant satis non haberent, magnam a legato Marcello passi sunt cladem.

XXI. Hic Pertinacem habuit successorem, qui fortem quoque se gessit ducem.

XXII. Hunc excepit Clodius Albinus, qui de sceptro et purpura cum Severo contendit.

XXIII. Post hos primus erat Virius Lupus, qui legati nomine gaudebat. Non huic multa præclara gesta adscribuntur, quippe cujus gloriam intercepit invictissimus Severus, qui, fugatis celeriter hostibus, murum Hadrianum, nunc ruinosum, ad summam ejus perfectionem reparavit; et, si vixerat, proposuerat exstirpare barbaros, quibus erat infestus, cum eorum nomine, ex hacce insula. Sed obiit, manu Dei, apud Brigantes in municipio Eboraco.

XXIV. Ejusque in locum subiit Alexander, qui orientis quasdam victorias reportavit, in Edissa (*Sicilia*) mortuus.

XXV. Successores habuit legatos Lucilianum,

M. Furium, N. Philippum. . . . . .
qui si defensionem terminorum ab ipsis observatam exceperimus, nil fere egerunt.

XXVI. Post. . . . . .

Desunt reliqua.

CAROLI BERTRAMI

LONDINENSIS

NOTÆ IN CAP. I. ET II. LIBRI PRIMI

BRITANNIÆ ROMANÆ

RICARDI MONACHI.

AD LECTOREM.

Notæ in caput primum et secundum libri primi Ricardi nostri, quas tibi heic, candide Lector! sisto, non sunt nisi paucæ earum plurium ad Antiquitates Britannicas pertinentium, quas laboriose versando cum veterum tum recentiorum scripta collegi. Quæ si tibi fuerint ad palatum, et candide a te accipi meruerint, Deo annuente redeuntibus temporibus tranquillitate felicioribus, integrum et completum ex iis formatum commentarium habebis. Spero interea, te judicaturum esse, me, in eo, quod plura tractando te non moratus sim, consulte egisse, præcipue tempore hoc, quo in considerandis nostræ ætatis stupendis factorum nexibus ad unum omnes sint nimium occupati, nec vacet rebus jam diu gestis, jamque inextricabile fere obscuritate sepultis, attentam afferre mentem.

NOTÆ IN CAP. I.

I. *Finis erat orbis, &c.*[1]] Homerus[2] primus, saltem Græcos inter, (de iis enim, quæ Orpheo tribuuntur, adhuc sub judice lis est,) terram undiquaque oceano cinctam allui[3] pronunciavit, opinio forte ipsi terræ coæva, quod verba quæ sequuntur Clementis Alexandrini innuere videntur; en ipsa verba: Mensam autem in templo, (altare quoque thymmiamatis a Moyse jussu divino factum[4],) habere undulas inflexas ac tortiles, (communiter coronam appellant,) significat terram quam oceanus circumfluit[5]. Recepta hæc erat Philosophorum[6], Geographorum[7], Historicorum[8] et Poetarum[9], tum Gentilium[10], tum Christianorum[11] opinio, atque quod ad Europam, Asiam et Africam, veterum orbem attinet, consentit

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[1] Solinus cap. 22. de mirabilibus Britanniæ. Mela de situ Orbis lib. iii. cap. 5.

[2] Iliad. Σ. v. 606. et Ξ. v. 200. Florus Histor. Rom. lib. i. cap. 13. Rutilii Numat. Itin.

[3] Strabo de Geogr. lib. i. p. 4. 9, &c.

[4] Exodus cap. iii. v. 3.

[5] Stromat, lib, vi. p. 658.

[6] Aristoteles lib. de Mundo c. 3. Plinius Nat. Hist. lib. ii. c. 66, 67, 68, &c. M. Capella lib. vi. &c. &c.

[7] Strabo Geogr. lib. passim. Dionysius Characenus passim. Mela de situ Orbis lib. i. c. 1. et iii. c. 1. Æthicus, Rufus Festus Avienus de Ora marit. v. 390, &c. &c.

[8] Joannes Tzetza variæ Histor. Chiliad. 8. Philostratus L. apud Photium, p. 1011.

[9] Orpheus, Homerus, Cointus Smyrnæus &c. fere omnes.

[10] Fere omnes, uno ore.

[11] Cosmas Ægyptus Cosmogr. Christian. lib. ii, p, 131, &c. &c.

illa ad unguem cum recentissimis et optimis observationibus. Hoc est cur veteres extrema littora finem terræ et naturæ dixerint[1]. Patet hoc, ut alios omittam, ex his Virgilii Romanorum Coryphæi dictis :

Extremique hominum *Morini* ——— [2]

populi in Galliæ finibus, qui Britanniam spectant, proximi oceano[3], et ultra oceanum quid erat præter Britanniam[4], oceani insulam[5], ultimam occidentis[6], quam fallax æstu circuit ipse oceanus[7], cujus licet magnitudinem olim nemo, ut Livius refert, circumvectus[8], Panegyricus[9] tamen Maximiano et Constantino impp. dictus aperte docet, eam tantæ magnitudinis a Cæsare habitam, ut non circumfusa oceano, sed complexa ipsum oceanum videretur[10]. Hæc cum verbis Ricardi[11] consentiunt, quæ verba sunt apud Solinum[12] eadem. Britannia judicata est orbis finis juxta Valerium Catullum qui Albionem nostram ultimam Britanniam[13], ejusque incolas Britannos ultimos appellat[14]. Sequitur eum in hoc Horatius Flaccus ita pro salute Augusti vota nuncupans :

Serves iturum Cæsarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos ——— [15]

nisi cum beato Chrysostomo tibi placuerit Britanniam extra orbem positam[16], Romanorumque virtutem in orbem redactam dicere[17].

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[1] Vide Ricard. lib. i. c. 4. § 12, &c.

[2] Æneid. lib. viii. v. 727. B. Hieronymus ad Gerontiam sub fin. Plinius N. H. lib. xix. c. 1. Julius Celsus in vita Cæsaris p. 44.

[3] Servius Honoratus ad loc. cit. Virgilii.

[4] E XII. Panegyricis unus pag. 265. edit. Stephani.

[5] Æthicus Cosmogr. p. 705. Isidorus Hisp. Orig. lib. xiv. c. 6.

[6] Catullus in Cæsarem epigr. 30. v. 13.

[7] Vet. Epigram. apud Scaligerum.

[8] Apud Jornandem de rebus Geticis. [9] XII. Panegyr. p. 258.

[10] Sed vide Cæsar. de Bello Gall. lib. v. c. 13.

[11] Lib. i. c. 1. [12] Caput de Brit.

[13] In Cæsarem epigr. 30. v. 4. [14] Ad Furium et Aur. epigr. 11. v. 12.

[15] Ode 35. ad Fortunam. [16] Tom. v. p. 848.

[17] Hegessipus lib. ii. cap. 9.

In Romanorum nomen elementa transierunt[1], in quos etiam transivit orbis terrarum, qui Romano imperio clauditur et definitur. Unde a plerisque Orbis Romanus appellatur[2]; ita M. Annæus Lucanus:

——— quin respicis orbem
Romanum[3]?

Et denuo de Cæsare sermonem faciens idem poëta canit:

Hic cui Romani spatium non sufficit orbis[4].

Sed vero propius ad ipsam rem accidit Claudius Claudianus ita loquendo:

——— nostro deducta Britannia mundo[5].
Nomen pene orbis alterius, &c.[6]

Alii veterum auctorum non parce adeo loquuntur, liquet hoc ex his apud optimos eorum obviis expressionibus:

At nunc oceanus geminos interluit orbes[7].

Britannia oceani insula interfuso mari toto orbe divisa[8], Alter Orbis appellatur[9], postquam Romanorum subjecta esset imperio, ita canentes audimus:

Conjunctum est, quod adhuc Orbis, et Orbis erat[10],
Et jam Romano cingitur oceano[11].

Et quamvis toto orbe divisa, tamen, qui vinceret, habuit Britannia[12], quæ præ magnitudine videri possit alia terra continens[13].

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[1] Ricard. p. 36. [2] Hegessipus.
[3] De Bello Pharsal. lib. viii. v. 442. [4] Lib. x. v. 456.
[5] De Malii Theodosii Cons. v. 51. [6] Solinus cap. de Britannia.
[7] Vet. Poet. apud Scaligerum.
[8] Isidorus Hisp. Orig. lib. xiv. c. 6. e Virgilio Ecl. i. v. 67.
[9] Alfredus apud Higdenum. [10] Vet. Poet. apud Scalig.
[11] Vet. Poet. apud Scalig. [12] Lib. iii. c. 10.
[13] Appianus in Præf. Vide et Isidorum Hisp. vel potius Solinum apud Ricardum p. 66. xxi.

Omnibus terra marique, a Cæsare, captis respexit oceanum, et quasi hic Romanus orbis non sufficeret, alterum (Britannicum) cogitavit [1]; aut cum Claudiano vate:

Vincendos alio quæsivit in orbe Britannos [2].

Hic orbis terra est, quam ultra oceanum sitam fingit Cosmas Indicopleustes [3], opinio inveterata. Plautius legatus enim, ut testis est Dio Cassius [4], difficulter exercitum e Gallia abduxit, indigne ferentem, quod extra orbem terrarum bellum esset gerendum, scilicet in Britannia,

——— quæ procul orbe jacet [5].

Nam si verum quæramus, terra ipsa infra Romanorum imperium est, super quam progressa Romana virtus ultra oceanum, alterum sibi orbem quæsivit, et in Britannia remota a confinio terrarum novam sibi invenit possessionem [6]. Aut ut iste Panegyricus [7] eleganter mentem suam explicat, Cæsar alium se orbem terrarum scripsit reperisse [8], et in Britanniam transjecisse exercitum, alterum pene imperio nostro, ac suo quærens orbem [9], non oblitur alibi ita Constantinum Magnum alloqui: gloriare tu vero, Cæsar invicte! alium te orbem terrarum peperisse [10]. Demum Nennius noster narrat, in extremo limite orbis Britanniæ esse Orcaniam insulam [11]. Unde hæ orbis particulæ, Orbis vocabulum traxerunt, ex Aristotele discere poterit lector, ad quem eum, prolixitatis evitandæ gratia, remitto [12].

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[1] L. Florus lib. iii. cap. 10.
[2] De Secundo Cons. Fl. Stilichonis v. 149.
[3] Cosmogr. Christ. p. 113.
[4] Lib. lx. p. 957.
[5] Vet. Poet. apud Scalig.
[6] Hegesippus.
[7] Maximiano et Constantino dictus p. 258.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Velleius Paterculus Histor. Rom. lib. ii.
[10] Panegyr. supra laudatus p. 262.
[11] Cap. 2.
[12] Lib. de Mundo c. 3. Plinius Nat. H. lib. iii. cap. 1.

Insula, &c.] Primis Græcorum Romanorumque ne esse quidem compertum fuit: posteriores in controversiam adduxerunt, continensne ea terra, an vero insula esset, multaque de utroque opinione conscripta sunt ab iis, qui certi quidem nihil noverunt, quippe qui nec vidissent, nec ab indigenis, qualis esset, accepissent, sed conjecturis tantum, quantum vel otii vel studii singulis aderat, niterentur. Successu temporis, prius quidem sub J. Agricola proprætore[1], deinde sub Severo imperatore, liquido deprehensum esse insulam[2].

Octingentis M. P. longa porrigitur.] Hæc longitudo Britanniæ a M. Vipsanio Agrippa tributa, cujus mentionem injicit C. Plinius Secundus[3], sequentibus ipsum Julio Solino[4], Martiano Capella[5], Paulo Orosio[6], Æthico[7], Gilda sapiente[8], venerabili Beda[9], Nennio Banchorensi[10], et pluribus aliis, quæ supra 730 milliaria Anglicana statutaria, vel regia, efficit. Hæc longitudo quamvis reperiatur nimia, ad veritatem tamen proximius accedit, illa, quam Jornandes Episcopus (ex Cassio Dione[11]) exhibet, longitudine, qui eam VII. M.CXXXII. stadia extendi ferri narrat[12], i.e. DCCCXCI. milliarium Romanorum cum dimidio, aut minoris aliquantum fuisse extensionis, quam 820 nostrorum milliarium. Quippe inde ab Ocrino (*Lizard Point*) extremo meridionali promontorio, usque ad Orcadem extremum, *Dungsby* (vel potius *Dunnet*[13]) *Head*, maxime versus Boream vergentem sint 590 milliaria regia, secundum recentissimas et fide dignissimas relationes, quæ non prorsus DCL. milliaria Romana efficiunt. Mappæ geographicæ seculi

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[1] Tacitus vita Agricolæ c. 38.
[2] Dio Cassius Hist. Rom. lib. xxxix. p. 114.
[3] Nat. Hist. lib. iv. c. 16.
[4] Cap. de Britannia.
[5] Lib. vi.
[6] Lib. i. c. 2.
[7] Cosmogr. p. 730.
[8] Cap. i.
[9] Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 1.
[10] Cap. ii.
[11] Hist. Rom. lib. lxxvi. p. 867.
[12] De rebus Geticis.
[13] Elphinstone's new correct Map of North Britain.

prioris[1] longitudinem ad 50, aliæ 75, et aliæ 120 plus minus milliaria, majorem extendunt, id est ad DCC millia passuum.

In Caledonicum promuntorium, &c.] Extremitas Caledoniæ Ricardi nostri[2] potius intelligenda est, de toto angulo[3] boreali Scotiæ. Scilicet, Rossia, Sutherlandia, Cathenesia, Strath-navernia cum vicinis regiunculis, quæ eis subsunt, quam de singulari quodam promontorio. Monachus noster semper in syllaba secunda ad morem plurium monachorum adhibet υ, qui scribendi mos, ceu maxime genuinus assumitur, a Is. Vossio[4] ac Gronoviis in iis, quas nobis dedere, Pomponii Melæ editionibus, certe optimis, in quibus semper promuntorium cum υ in secunda syllaba reperies; quas, si lubuerit, consulas[5].

II. *Veteres Britanniam, &c.*[6].] Quodnam antiquissimum et genuinum Magnæ Britanniæ inter tot varias appellationes, quibus ab extraneis propriisque incolis insignita fuit, nomen fuerit, inventu est perquam difficile, præsertim nostro, quo adeo longe distamus, tempore; etenim, ut docent verba auctoris, et nos etiam deinceps[7] evidenter explicabimus, omnes insulæ in vicinia sitæ commune nomen Britannicarum habuere. Ut plurimæ aliæ regiones sic et hæc

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[1] Joh. Speed in Theatre pag. 131. ad	60.	25.
Herm. Moll in Tour through Gr. Brit. vol. 3.	59.	20.
Rob. Gordon Atl. Blavian. vol. 6.	59.	18.
Joh. Senex. General Atlas p. 233.	59.	13.
Rob. Mordon in Cambd. Brit.	59.	8.
De Wit & Danckert's Maps	59.	2.
Tim. Pont. Atl. Blav. vol. 6.	58.	57.
Jos. Kelly Navig. p. 91.	58.	47.
J. Seller's Tables p. 292.	58.	37.
J. Elphinstone's Map 1745.	58.	31.

[2] Secundum pag. 32. liv. [3] Solinus cap. de Brit.

[4] Observationes ad P. Melam Hagæ comitis 1658. 4.

[5] Johannis, Jacobi et Abrahami Gronovii Editiones Pompon. Melæ, Julii Honorii, Æthic. &c. Lugd. Bat. 1685. 8. 1696. 8. et 1722. 8. maj.

[6] Primitus hæc insula vocabatur Albion ab albis rupibus circa litora maris a longe apparentibus. R. Higdeni Polychron. lib. i. p. 191.

[7] Pag. 100.

nomen suum a primo ejus conditore hausit, verum autem quis hic fuerit, æque ignotum, ac nomen, de quo quæritur. Tantum ex paucis, qui nobis supersunt, scriptoribus novimus, quod fuerit appellata his nominibus: Britannia, Albion[1], Hyperborea[2], Atlantia[3], Cassiteris[4], Romania[5], nec non Thule[6], quæ nomina a Phœnicibus Græcis et Romanis ipsi data fuere, sed quodnam aut an ullum illorum sit genuinum, incertum adeo est, ut verear ne nunquam satis demonstrari possit. Albion et Britannia jus antiquitatis sibi vindicant, cum apud Poetas Britannos, seu Bardos, ejusdem sub nominibus Alban, vel Alben, Inis Wen[7], sive insulæ Albæ[8], et Prydæn[9] fiat mentio. Albion antiquissimum censetur, quamtumvis nullum horum nominum sit illud, in quod inquirimus cum Romanis bene nota fuerint. E contrario vero, si in re tanti momenti testimonio Dionis Cassii fides habenda est, Britannorum regina Bonduica affirmet, Romanorum sapientissimos verum nomen (indigenarum) ignorasse[10]. Hinc forte investigandum erit nomen, aliud a supradictis. Interea de singulis hic allegatis nobis erit sermo.

Primum Albionem, &c.[11]] Ni ita dicta fuerit ab Albione conditore vel debellatore ejus, quem quidem Albionem Neptuni filium fuisse asserunt[12], certe ratio sat gravis hanc appellationem re-

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[1] Aristoteles lib. de Mundo cap. 3. Plinius H. N. lib. iv. c. 16. Ptolemæus Geogr. lib. ii. c. 3, &c. Buchananus eam Albium appellat.

[2] Diodorus Siculus Biblioth. Hist. lib. ii. c. 3. e Hecatæo &c.

[3] Platonis Timæus.

[4] Plin. N. H. lib. vii. cap. 56. Κασσίτερος apud Steph. Byzant. de urbibus.

[5] Vopiscus in Floriano. Prosper Aquitanus apud Cambd. Brit. p. xxvii. Gildas de excid. Brit. cap. v. x. et xiv. Ricardus Corinensis lib. i. cap. 6. xxix. &c.

[6] Silius Italicus lib. xvii. v. 421. Ricardus Corin. lib. i. c. 6. l. e cl. Claudiano de IV. Cons. Honorii v. 32. Arnsgrimus Jonas Specim. Island. hist. parte 2. pag. 120. Sir Robert Sibbald apud Cambdenum edit. Gibsoni p. 1089, &c.

[7] Cambd. Brit. pag. xxvii. Seldenus in Polyolbion p. 20.

[8] Cambdenus, ut supra.

[9] Lhuydii Archæolog. Brit. pag. 219. col. 4.

[10] Histor. Roman. lib. lxii. pag. 702. [11] Plin. N. H. lib. iv. c. 16.

[12] Perottus, Lilius Gyraldus, Cambdenus, &c.

jiciendi adesse videtur, cum certum sit ac evictum, totam insularum classem, tempore Aristotelis[1], et verosimiliter jam diu ante ipsum, Britannicarum nomen gessisse. Præterea, si etiam ab albis rupibus a Phœnicibus sic fuerit nuncupata, nil tamen ex eo sequitur, quam quod fuerit nomen impositum, neutiquam genuinum, nisi affirmemus, cum quibusdam aliis[2], Phœnices fuisse primos hanc regionem incolentes, quod, antequam sufficienter fuerit demonstratum, pro evicto assumere nullus potero. Attamen admissa hac opinione, detectis metallifodinis stanno divitibus, ברת־אנך Baratanac, id est agrum seu terram stanni et plumbi, eos sine dubio dixisse, idque nomen omnibus circumjacentibus insulis dedisse, cum omnes fere ejusdem naturæ et conditionis sint, tanta gaudet verisimilitudine, ut ulteriori indagine originis nominis Cassiteridis, minime opus videatur. Notum enim est, Græcos ei id nominis dedisse[4]. cum eundem, quem præcedens habeat significatum et Κασσίτερον indigitet stannum, uti hoc probabit Plinius[5], et prolixius Bochartus[6]. Phœnices autem, me judice, non fuere primi incolæ, verum tantum mercatores, primi in has partes mercatum proficiscentes, suaque ibi erigentes emporia, (*factories*) quemadmodum hodie Europæi in oris maritimis Africæ simile faciunt, sequitur hinc, nomen quodcunque, ejusque generis nomina ab extraneis regioni imposita, longe abesse a genuino a nativis incolis indito, ex istorum lingua nullo modo derivando. Quod in totum destruit speciosas a Cambdene[7], Baxtero[8], et Somnero[9] factas derivationes, licet hucusque receptas maximo cum applausu. Verum errari in his omnibus, dices absque dubio, cum nomen e lin-

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[1] Lib. de Mundo c. 3.

[2] Vide Notes on Cambden's Brit. Edit. Gibs. p. xviii. (x.)

[3] Bocharti Canaan. lib. i. c. 39.

[4] Strabo Geogr. lib. ii. pag. 191.

[5] N. H. lib. xxxiv. cap. 16.

[6] Ut supra pag. 721.

[7] A *Brith*, Britannica voce, addita Græca terminatione *tania* pag. xxviii. xxix. xxx. Edit. Gibsoni.

[8] Glossarium Antiq. Britann. voce *Alvion*, p. 13.

[9] A littoribus ferventibus, et mari vel oceano circumfluo tam mire semper æstuoso. Glossarium ad X. Scriptores voce *Britannia*.

gua incolarum vernacula originem trahat, sitque purum putum Britannicum; posito autem me eo acquiescere, non tamen inde sequitur, hæc nomina Britannica a nativis gentibus imposita esse, peregrini potius advenientes, ad quæstiones incolis, aut Gallis datas, responsa accipientes inde ita appellandi occasionem sumsere, cum eorum linguam Phœnices calluisse nullus credendi locus, hincque signis mentem suam explicaverint necesse est. Sic manu significantibus Britanniam, nomenque sciscitantibus, alii eos altas rupes cretaceas intellectas credentes, respondere: Alben, vel Brytin, atque ea ratione e vocabulis Al, Alp, Ben, Pen, Bryd, Pryd, Bryt, Tin, vel Dyn, diversos significatus admittentibus[1], plurimæ aliæ pro diversitate ingeniorum quibus responsa dabantur, oriri potuerunt rerum et regionum appellationes, quæ pro nominibus insulæ habitæ, auctoritate donatæ ad nostra servatæ sunt tempora. Non absimili modo Peru, Jucatan, Paria, tres regiones Americæ eminentiores, nomina accepere, quod doctissimus Raleius affirmat et asseverat[2], etenim Hispani digitis trans fluvium sitas terras innuentibus, et primæ regionis nomen quærentibus, Indi regessere, Peru, quod forte nomen hujus amnis erat, aut aquam in genere denotabat in lingua his vernacula. Jucatan nec aliud quicquam significat, quam "Quid ais?" "Quid tibi vis?" ita enim Hispanis, rogantibus nomen loci, Barbaros (cum non intelligerant) respondisse ferunt, idque responsum Hispanos in nomen loci transtulisse. Tertiam quod attinet regionem, eodem ista modo nomen est sortita. Cum Hispani de nomine regionis quærerent, manu montes excelsos monstrantes, quidam incolarum "Paria" respondit, quo vocabulo rupes montesque innuuntur, ut alia ejusdem farinæ exempla præteream, quorum mentionem præclarus hic auctor injicit[3], et quæ omnia ad nostrum scopum æque inservire possent. Corrupta insuper genuini nominis pronuntiatio, illud ita alterare potest, ut etymologiam omnino nullam admittat. Exempla nobis sint, ea quæ

[1] Consulas omnino Daviesium, Lhuydium, et Boxhornium, qui Lexica Britannicæ ling. scripserunt.

[2] History of the World lib. i. cap. 8. § 5. nec non et Robinson Annal. Mundi pag. 97.

[3] Hist. ut supra l. c.

nomen ipsi civitatibus: Corunnæ, Setubal, et Portui Liburno, tribuimus nomina, barbare eas vocantes, *the Groin*, *Saint Ubes*, *Leghorn*. Quot quæso! in linguis peregrinis voces audimus, quas ne imitari quidem, nedum accurate scribere possumus? Omiserunt, ista veteres aut mutarunt nomina. Patet hoc ex hisce a Mela dictis: "Cantabrorum aliquot populi amnesque sunt, sed quorum nomina nostro ore concipi nequeunt[1]." Nomina Britanniæ igitur a peregrinis ortum trahunt, unde genuinum nomen gentis a regina Bonduica indicatum, inter deperdita facile numerari posset. Sic, ab oceano Atlantico, vel Hyperboreo, in quo sita est Britannia[2], Atlantia et Hyperborea vocata; Thule, cum sit inter insulas notas ultima[3]; nomen vero Romanæ, Romanum plane est. Denique error est apud Spedium[4], Somnerum[5], aliosque quod assertum, quod vocabulo gentis suæ ita vocari dicunt regionem, implicet Britannicum esse nomen, nil aliud indigitat, quam insulam sic a nomine incolarum vocatam, quod ex citationibus ex classicis auctoribus desumtis sat superque demonstrari potest[6]. Hac ratione incidimus in eam ab initio quæ subiit mentem, cogitationem scilicet, an insula Britannia, aut Albion ab incolis fuerit dicta? si unquam insula, Britannia, aut Albion ab indigenis dicta est, primo ejus conditori, vel subjugatori nomen debet, et in his acquiesco. Reliquæ inde, a capite omnium, appellationes suas habebunt.

Brittaniam, &c.] Modus scribendi nominis apud Græcos aut Βρεττανία[7], Βρεταννία[8], ἡ Βρεττανική[9], vel Πρεταννία, Πρετα-

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[1] De situ Orbis lib. iii. cap. i. [2] Ptolemæus Geogr. lib. ii. c. 2.

[3] Transiit (D. Paulus) oceanum et qua facit insula portum;
Quasque Britannus habet terras, quasque ultima Thule.
Venantius Fortunatus, &c.

[4] Hist. of Great Britain. [5] In Glossar. ad X. Script. voce Brit.

[6] Unam tantum exhibere volo. Inter Cn. Pompeium et Cn. Vibium humili loco natum, tantus error extitit de paribus lineamentis, ut Romani Vibium Pompeii nomine Pompeium Vibii vocabulo cognominarent. Solinus cap. i.

[7] Aristoteles, Diodorus, Strabo, Ptolemæus, Agathemerus, Polyænus Dio, Clemens Alex. Epitom.; Strab. D. Joh. Chrysostomus tom. iii. Joan. Tzetza, &c.

[8] Cleomedes, Numenius Alabandensis, M. Heracleota, Chrysostomus t. iv. et v. Polyænus, &c.

[9] M. Heracleota p. 57. 58. 59. 60. Ptolemæus apud Steph. de Urbibus.

νία[1], Πρεττανὶς[2], Βρεττανίδες νῆσοι[3], Ἀλβίων[4], Ἀλβιών[5], et Ἀλβεϊών[6]; in optimis Latinorum scriptoribus etiam nummis Britannia et Albion habetur, in aliis ævi inferioris Britania[7], in Pausania[8], Beda, et Ricardo nostro Brittania; in Ethelwerdo, Willielmo Malmesburiensi, Henrico Huntingdunensi, Rogero Hovedene, &c. Brittannia, nec non in saxo urbis Grætz in Stiria

PRÆF. EQUIT. AL. BRITTANNICÆ[9].

Incolæ aut Βρεττανοὶ[10], vel Βρεταvοὶ[11], Britanni, Brittani[12], Britones[13], vel Brittones[14], semper scribuntur; etiam ab ipsis gentis hujus scriptoribus: Ynis Prydæn, Ynis Prydein, Ynis Prydain, Ynis Bryden, Ynis Brydain, Ynis Breatin, &c. Brith, plur. Brithion et Brython, &c.

Vocarentur omnes, &c.] Catullus, ni fallor, primus Romanorum est qui Britannias in plurali numero habet, in Cæsarem epigr. 30.

Hunc Galliæ timent, timent Britanniæ.

Et iterum de Acme et Septimius epigr. 46.

Unam Septimius misellus Acmen
Mavult, quam Syrias, Britanniasque.

Post ipsum Plinius[15] insulas Britannicas sequenti ordine enumerat: Britannia et Hibernia, XL. Orcades, VII. Acmodæ, XXX.

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[1] M. Heracl. p. 57. 58. 59. [2] Apud Cambd. Brit. p. 1.
[3] Dionysius Char. Polybius, Joh. Tzetza, &c.
[4] Aristoteles, M. Heracl. p. 9. 33. [5] Ptolemæus, Agathemerus, &c.
[6] Johan. Tzetza. [7] Lucius Ampelius.
[8] Lib. viii. p. 526. [9] Apud Gruter. p. cccclxxxii.
[10] Strabo &c. [11] Dionysius &c.
[12] Monachi fere omnes.
[13] Juvenalis lib. v. v. 705. Martialis lib. ix. Epigr. 22. Inscriptiones variæ.
[14] Inscrip. variæ, Ausonius &c. Romani suos provinciales constanter *Britannos* dicunt; quanquam ipsi provinciales sese *Brittones* appellari gaudeant. Buchan. Rerum Scot. lib. i. c. 1.
[15] Lib. iv. c. 16.

Hebudes, item Mona, Monapia, Ricnea, Vectis, quam errans versus occidentem sitam affirmet, [quamvis sint, qui eam insulam ab hac distinctam faciunt, eam scilicet quam Ptolemæus Ocetin vocat.] Limnus, Andros, Siambis, Axantos, deinde Glessariæ, quas Electrides Græci recentiores appellavere, nec non et Thule, Mictis, Scandia, Dumna, Bergos, et Nerigon. Johannes Chrysostomus in diversis locis de insulis in plurali numero loquitur, nominans eas Βρεττανικὰς νήσους[1].

Brettanides insulæ jacent circa Thraciam,
Duæ maximæ omnium : prima Ibernia,
Et Albion post ipsam. Ipsæ aliarum primæ.
Et aliæ triginta vocatæ Orcades :
Et Thule proxima ipsi, alia maxima insula,
In Aparctiæ flatum proxima vocata.
Ex his triginta sunt Hesperides.
Ad partes enim vespertinas sitæ sunt Brettaniæ[2].

Verum cum duæ ipsarum multo majores sint ulla ex ceteris, hoc ipsum Aristoteli[3], Dionysio[4], Agathemero[5], Apuleio[6], &c. ansam præbuit, tantum harum duarum injiciendi mentionem.

Duæ insulæ sunt Britannicæ, contra Rhenum :
Illic enim extremum eructat in mare vorticem.
Harum sane magnitudo immensa : neque ulla alia
Insulas inter omnes Britannicis æquatur [*æqualis est*].

Quæ sunt supræ dictæ Albion et Hibernia[7].

De quibus mox paulo dicemus.] Caput VIII. libri primi p. 58. et seq.

III. *Inter septemtriones et occidentem, &c.*] Id est, versus

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[1] Pag. 673. tom. iii. pag. 676. tom. iii. pag. 696. tom. v. pag. 635. tom. v. pag. 846. tom. vi. p. 111. tom. viii. &c.

[2] Joh. Tzetzæ variæ Hist. Chil. 8. cap. 918. v. 719. &c.

[3] Lib. de Mundo cap. 3.

[4] Orbis descrip. v. 565.

[5] Lib. ii. de Geogr. cap. 4. p. 39.

[6] De Mundo liber.

[7] Dionysius Characen. Orb. descr. v. 566. &c.

Caurum, (*the north-west*;) respectu Romæ, quod bene a Johanne Tzetza hoc versu expressum

> Thracias perflat Brettanorum atque Ethruscam regionem
> Romanosque, ————[1].

Thracias vero inter Aparctiam et Argesten spirat, quem accolæ etiam Circium appellant secundum Agathemerum[2] et A. Gellium[3].

Maxumis Europæ partibus, &c.] Versus orientem Norwagia, Dania, et Germania, ad meridiem vero Gallia et Hispania.

Magno intervallo, &c.] Melius hoc intuitu Mappæ geographicæ faciem Europæ exhibentis patebit, quam verbis describi poterit.

Oceano Athlantico clauditur.] Universam ipsam terram insulam esse unicam Atlantici maris ambitu circumdatam docet Aristoteles[4]. Porro autem pelagus, quod extra orbem nobis habitatum fusum est, et Atlanticum dicitur, et oceanus a quo ipse circumluitur.

> Externis autem partibus alia cognomine gerit,
> Hesperius statim enim oceanus vocatur,
> Et pelagus Atlanticum, pars quædam ad occasum.
> Ad boream autem Saturnium et congelatum, mortuumque[5].

Certum est Magnam Britanniam diversis temporibus nox nomen ab hoc oceano accepisse, nox illi idem reddidisse. Minimum hoc de parte oceani septentrionali et occidentali, etiam ea quæ ultra fretum Gaditanum est, valet. Etenim Britanniam veterum esse Atlantiam, si unquam exstetit, pro concesso assumo. Sic habet Adamus Bremensis de mari septentrionali (*the North Sea*); sermonem faciens[6], "Egdora descendit usque in oceanum Fresonicum, quem Romani scribunt Britannicum." Inde (*the Channel*, Gallice, *la Manche*) ad promontorium Antivestæum Ptolemæus,

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[1] Chil. 8. 678.
[2] Lib. i. de Geogr. c. ii. p. 5. vide et Non. Marcell. c. i. de propr. sermon.
[3] Noct. Attic. lib. ii. cap. 22.
[4] Lib. de Mundo cap. 3.
[5] Johan. Tzetza Chil. 8. 626.
[6] De situ Daniæ cap. 1.

aliique oceanum Britannicum vocant. Porro Pomponius Mela, natione Hispanus, Pyrenæum montem in oceanum Britannicum procurrere dicit[1]. Et Geographus Ravennas, fretum Septem-Gaditanum in oceanum Britannicum ingredi refert[2]. Quibus addimus Ricardum nostrum, qui infra, oceanum occidentalem, Magnum illum Brittanicum, qui et Athlanticus oceanus, omnia reliqua complexum maria, appellat[3].

IV. *A meridie Galliam Belgicam.*] Potius ab Euro.

Cujus proximum littus, &c.] Infra descriptam cap. vi. § 5. p. (17). cap. vii. pag. (52).

A Gessoriaco Morinorum, Brittanicæ gentis portu, &c.] Bononia, hodie *Boulogne*, vide infra pagina 52. Locus hic auctoris nostri non prius plene intelligi potest, donec capitis xviimi libri IVti Plinii vera lectio fuerit restituta quam hanc esse arbitror:

Loco communiter usitatæ lectionis	*Ita legendum esse autumo,*
" Deinde Menapii, Morini, Oromansaci juncti pago, qui Gessoriacus vocatur: Britanni, Ambiani, Bellovaci, Hassi.	Deinde Menapii, Morini, Parmani[4], ac juncti pago, qui Gessoriacus vocatur, Britanni: Ambiani, Bellovaci, Essui[5]."

Etenim propter defectum recti sensus loci hujus Pliniani, Harduinus Hassos omittit, ac Dionysius Vossius Essuos in Æduos mutat[6], cum e contrario, juxta meam emendationem, non omnia solum sint perspicua, verum et sine ulteriori meditatione ultimum caput libri IVti Plinii intellectu perquam facile reddatur, ubi verba ita sonant: " Polybius latitudinem Europæ ab Italia ad oceanum scripsit XI. L. (1150) m. p. etiam tum incomperta magnitudine ejus. Est autem ipsius Italiæ XI. XX. (1120) M. ad Alpes. Unde per Lugdunum ad portum Morinorum Britannicum, qua videtur mensuram agere Polybius XIII. XVIII. (1318) m. p. &c." quæ

[1] De situ Orbis lib. ii. cap. 6.
[2] De Geogr. lib. iv. cap. 45. et v. cap. 4.
[3] De situ Brit. lib. i. cap. viii. 10.
[4] Cæsar de Bello Gall. lib. ii. cap. 4.
[5] Cæsar de B. G. lib. v. cap. 23.
[6] Notæ in Cæsar. pag. 124.

hucusque a nemine recte intellecta fuere. Quomodo, et quo tempore hi Britanni in Galliam venerunt, superest, ut inquiramus. Cæsar, qui, data occasione, omnes Gallorum nationes enumerat, de Britannis tacet, neque de portu ipsorum Gessoriaco loquitur, unde jure concludimus, eos Cæsaris tempore ibi non fuisse. Dionysius Characenus videtur primus, qui eos hoc versu nominat[1]:

——————— ubi Britanni,
Albæque gentes habitant martiorum Germanorum,
Hercyniæ sylvæ prætersalientes montes, &c.

Quod ejus commentator Eustathius Thessalonicensis archiepiscopus ad Britannos continentem terram incolentes pertinere explicat, ita verba faciens[2]: "Britannorum autem nomen ferentes sunt e regione Britannicæ insulæ." Hic Dionysius a Plinio lib. IV. cap. xxvii. vocatus est terrarum orbis situs recentissimus auctor. Unde patet, quod hi Britanni non diu ante sedem ibi fixerint, atque Gessoriacum ædificaverint, an vero armorum violentia factum sit, vel absque ferro, ulteriori disquisitioni reliquendum erit.

Millium L. &c.] Videatur auctor noster cap. vii. pag. 52.

Ut quidam scripsere, stadiorum CCCCL.] Antoninus in Itinerariis, et Dio Cassius[3]; juxta dimensiones recentiores mensurant 39 milliaria regia seu CCCL. stadia a Bononia (*Boulogne*), usque eo, ubi olim Ritupis sita erat.

Illinc conspiciuntur Brittones, &c.] E portu *Ambletense*, qui veterum est Iccius, ora Angliæ opposita, in linea recta tantum 26 milliaria regia distans, ut ex dimensionibus exactis constat, tota perfecte conspici potest.

Virgilius Maro.] Latinos inter Poetas princeps, in Ecloga prima v. 67.

V. *Agrippa, vetus orbis descriptor.*] Juliæ Oct. Augusti Cæsaris filiæ maritus: Primus videtur inter Romanos qui corpus Geographiæ conscripsit. Fundavit is Romæ Pantheon, veram omnis

[1] Descript. Orbis v. 284. &c.
[2] Edit. Oxoniæ Hudson. 1717. 8vo. p. 50. N. 1.
[3] Hist. R. lib. xxxix. pag. 114. consulas et Phil. Trans. n. 193.

bonæ architecturæ epitomen. De eo ejusque Commentariis Plinius hoc perhibet testimonium[1]: "Agrippam quidem in tanti viri diligentia, præterque in hoc opere cura, orbem cum terrarum orbi spectandum, propositurus esset, errasse quis credat, et cum eo Divum Augustum? Is namque complexam eam porticum ex destinatione et commentariis M. Agrippæ a sorore ejus inchoatam peregit." Nummi ejus in curiosorum reperiuntur Musæis, in quibus corona navali coronatus cernitur[2], juxta illud Dionis lib. xlix. p. 400.

Latitudinem ejus CCC.] Latitudo hæc ab Agrippa assignata e traditionibus Græcis desumta est, satisque bene respondet, si illa sumitur, quæ inter oram Walliæ et Norfolciæ est, quæ sola latitudo tres circini mensuras permittit, aliæ omnes latitudines Britanniæ adeo sunt irregulares, mappam geographicam, perspiciatur. Dio minimum latitudinem CCC. stadiorum esse perhibet[3].

Beda vero rectius CC.] Errat hic Ricardus. Verba proprie non sunt ipsius Bedæ, verum e Gilda mutuata[4], qui iterum ea ex Æthico[5], Orosio[6], &c. hausit. Documentum hoc est inter plura alia, quæ allegari possent, satis sufficiens, eum nunquam vidisse Gildam. Dio Cassius[7] et Jornandes episcopus latitudinem ad MM.CCCX. stadia figit[8], quæ æqualia 28875 passibus geometricis vel CCLXXXIX. mill. Rom. Marcianus Heracleota aliam operandi viam ingressus, latitudinem Britanniæ ita metitur: "Latitudo autem ejus (Albionis) incipit quidem juxta Damnonium, quod dicitur etiam Ocrinum promontorium; desinit vero ad Novantum Chersonesum, et ejusdem nominis promontorium: adeo ut latitudo ejus juxta maximam lineam sit stadiorum MMMLXXXIII. id est CCCLXXXVI. m. p. plus minus[9]."

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[1] Hist. Nat. lib. iii. cap. 1.

[2] E Thesauro Oyzeliano XXVII. Tab. 12. exhibet Grævius in Florum pag. 526. Edit. Amst. 1702. 8vo maj.

[3] Hist. Rom. lib. lxxvi. pag. 867.

[4] Cap. i.

[5] Cosmogr. pag. 731. Edit. Gron.

[6] Hist. lib. i. cap. 2.

[7] Rom. Hist. lib. lxxvi. pag. 867.

[8] In Geticis suis.

[9] Vide infra pag. 108.

Diversorum promunteriorum, &c.] Quales sunt *Cornwal, Pembrokeshire, Carnarvonshire, &c.*

Quadragies octies septuaginta quinque m. p.] Verba reperiuntur in Beda[1], Isidoro Hispalensi[2], Julio Solino[3], &c. Commentator hujus vetus ita verba Soliniana explicat[4]: " Circuitus Britanniæ quadragies octies LXXV. sunt. Si quis voluerit ipsius circuitus mensuram scriptam ab Julio facilius intelligere ccc d cccces, sive d cccc cccces, fore cognoscat. Sed si alicui tardanti ingenio hæc dimensio non satisfecerit, miliarios lapides esse fingat, in quibus XXX.[5] lapidum, et d c simpliciter lapides fieri quis dubitabit?" Sequitur hunc forsitan Ricardus noster Cap. II. § 3. cum doctissimo D. Smith[6], qui in iis, quas in Bedæ paginam 40 concinnavit notas, explicat per tria millia sexingenta milliaria; error hic est in quem plures alii viri, ceteroquin optimi incidere. Duas priores figuras in ultimas ducere videntur, quod nunquam ab ullo Romanorum auctore intendi novi cum certissimis. Sub intellectum tantum volvere vocabulum *centena*, et hunc in modum scripsere $\overline{\text{XLVIII}}$. LXXV. modus loquendi erat, quasi nostra lingua diceremus (4875) *forty-eight hundred and seventy-five miles*, vel, Germanice, Acht und vierzig hundert, fünf und siebenzig. Ast cum maximus commentatorum numerus hoc non attenderit, inde maxima editionum Plinii pars, immo omnes, confusæ reperiuntur, quippe lineolam primis litteris superimpositam, quæ centenarium indigitat numerum millenarium indicare, præcario assumunt. Legitur hinc in Plinio XIII. M. XVIII. (13018) loco $\overline{\text{XIII}}$. XVIII. (1318), quo ipso, toto cœlo a vero distant. Methodum meam rectissimam esse apparet, si Capellam cum Plinio, cujus ille fidus est transcriptor, conferimus nulla sane de certitudine ejusdem mihi superest dubium, quicquid alii in contrarium scripserunt, cum Plinium ipsum a partibus meis habeam, ita dicentem: " Univer-

[1] Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 1.
[2] Origin. lib. xiv. cap. 6.
[3] Caput de Brit.
[4] Ap. Salmasium. Plin. Exercit. cap. 23.
[5] $\overline{\text{XXX}}$. oportet legere.
[6] Editor Bedæ oper. Cantabr. 1722. fol. maj.

sum orbis circuitum Eratosthenes, ducentorum quinquaginta duorum millium stadium prodidit: quæ mensura Romana computatione efficit trecenties quindecies centena millia passuum[1]." Et verum id quidem; nam stadium CXXV. passibus constat[2]. Proinde si 252,000 per 125 multiplices, fiunt 31,500,000 passuum.

Marcianus, author Græcus.] Auctor supranominatus, ex Heraclea Ponti oriundus, unde Heracleota dictus, reliquit nobis Periplum percuriosum, quem Hudson noster, lingua Græca, addita versione sua Latina, publici juris fecit. Reperies illum in volumine I. Geographiæ veteris scriptorum Græcorum minorum, Oxonii e Theatro Sheldon. 1698. 8vo. quæ de insulis Britannicis habet ex Ptolemæo et Protagora desumta videntur. Locus vero quem Ricardus noster refert, est pag. 59; ubi "universa," inquit, "peripli totius Albionis insulæ stadia non plura 28604; id est 3575. m. p. et dimidium, non pauciora stadiis 20526. sive 2576. m. p. fere," inde patet auctorem nostrum majorem numerum recepisse.

MDIↃↃ LXXV. milliaria.] Qui monachus noster in hunc mirum computum inciderit, non video, cum nunquam simile quid invenerim. Mentem ejus capere non potuissem, ni Marcianum in hoc sibi consentientem appellasset. Jam auctor hic, ut nuper dictum, duplum affert numerum, quorum maximus 3575 milliaria cum dimidio complectitur. Unde liquet MD. a numero IↃↃLXXV. subtrahenda esse sic: 5075 — 1500 = 3575.

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[1] Nat. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 108. [2] Censorinus de die nat. cap. 13.

NOTÆ IN CAP. II.

I. *Brittania Magna, &c.*] Ab Aristide Rhetore simpliciter Magna vocata Insula[1] etiam a priscis Hiberniæ incolis[2]. Jam vero peractis tot seculis, totque revolutionibus ac mutationibus vetus suum nomen Maguæ Britanniæ hodie vindicavit.

A Chrysosthomo authore Græco.] Probabiliter Dionem Prusæum Chrysostomum cognominatum celebrem oratorem putat, contemporaneum Trajano imperatori, ejusque triumphi participem[3], qui in Geticis suis, vel aliis operibus jam deperditis id assertum ivit. In epitome Strabonis a Hudsone publicata vol. II.[4] epitheton Magnæ reperio pag. 21 et 38. additum ab Epitomatore. Verum inde concludere Chrysostomum hunc appellari nimiæ foret audaciæ. Verum est, Johannem Chrysostomum in plurimis scriptis suis Britannicarum insularum injicere mentionem, nusquam vero adjunxit Britanniæ ipsi cognomen Magnæ, nisi aciem oculorum meorum effugerit[5].

Natura triquetra, &c.] "Inter septemtrionem et occidentem projecta, grandi angulo Rheni ostia prospicit, deinde obliqua retro latera abstrahit, altero Galliam, altero Germaniam spectans: tum rursus perpetuo margine directi littoris ab tergo abducta, iterum se in diversos angulos cuneat triquetra, et Siciliæ maxime similis, plana, ingens, fecunda, &c.[6]" Opinio a Cæsare accepta[7], et plurimis, qui eum sequuntur, auctoribus propagata, verbi causa, a Diodoro[8], Strabone[9], &c.

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[1] In oratione Ægyptiaca.
[2] Ogyg. p. 11. 12. &c. Inis Mor. apud Cambd. Brit. p. vi. (h)
[3] Philostr. Dion.
[4] Geogr. script. Græcorum min. 8vo. Oxoniæ 1703.
[5] Vide supra pag. 158 note 52. [6] Mela de situ Orbis lib. iii. cap. 6.
[7] Comment. de B. G. lib. v. cap. 13. [8] Biblioth. Hist. lib. v. cap. 21.
[9] Geogr. lib. iv. p. 199.

Unum latus est contra Galliam Celticam, &c.] Id est, tota Britanniæ ora meridionalis ad Canalem Britannicum sita et Galliæ opposita, juxta verba auctoris, ex Cæsare[1] desumta.

Ad Cantium, &c.] Infra lib. I. cap. 6. § 5 et 7. describitur vulgo: *the North Foreland of Kent.*

Ad Ocrinum, &c.] Infra lib. I. cap. 6. § 16. ejus mentionem facit, hodie *the Lizard Point*, navigantibus notissimum.

Ad meridiem et Hispaniam Tarraconensem.] Revera ita est, vergit enim in linea recta ad *Cabo de las Pennas.* Illustrat hoc Agathemerum, qui lib. ii. cap. 4. de Geographia, ita loquitur: "Albion, in qua castra etiam extructa, maxima et longissima est. Siquidem incipiens a septentrionibus accedit medium Tarraconensis, ad orientem usque ad media ferme Germaniæ."

Millia pass. D.] Secundum dimensiones recenter factas 367 milliaria Anglicana Regia dimensa[3], quæ CCCC. Romana efficiunt, hæc longitudo est lateris, quam Ricardus noster infra ei tribuit. Attamen illa a Cæsare tradita longitudo non est nimia, parumque a vero aberrans, si per ambages oras maritimas mensuraverimus, respectu ejus quam Diodorus exhibet VII.M. D. stadiorum[3], aut DCCCC.XXXVII. milliarium cum dimidio, aut Strabonis VM. Stadiis[4], quæ tamen DCXXV. milliaria Romana sunt.

II. *Alterum latus, &c.*] Latus occidentale Britanniæ.

Vergit ad Hyberniam, &c.] Cum e diametro oppositum sit oris occidentalibus Albionis.

Veterum opinio, &c.] Cæsar ita habet[5]: "Ut fert illorum opinio vel Britannorum, vel potius mercatorum, aut druidum Gallicorum. Certus sum, eum hoc e Græcis non hausisse scriptoribus."

DCC. mill. pass.] Diodorus Siculus vocat hoc ultimum latus, ejusque longitudini ascribit XXM. stadia[7] vel MM.D. m. p. Ricardus infra in proxima sectione M. milliarium esse dicit, et Strabo unicuique lateri Britanniæ circiter IVM.CCC. vel IVM.CCCC.

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[1] De Bell. Gall. lib. v. cap. 13.
[2] Bibl. Hist. lib. v. cap. 21.
[3] De Bell. Gall. lib. v. cap. 13.
[4] Philos. Trans. N. 330. pag. 266.
[5] Geogr. lib ii. pag. 63 et 128.
[6] De Bell. Gall. lib. v. cap. 13.
[7] Bibl. Hist. lib. v. cap. 21.

stadia assignat[1]. Si per ambages computamus, longissimum omnino latus insulæ est, licet non excedat 1070 milliaria.

III. *Septemtriones.*] Notissima septentrionalis constellatio, ab astronomis Ursa Major dicta, quam, Homero auctore:

Ursamque, quam et Plaustrum cognomine vocant,
Quæ ibidem vertitur et Oriona observat:
Sola autem expers est undarum oceani[2].

Cui parti nulla est objecta, &c.] Scilicet toti insulæ acervo hodie sub nominibus *Orkney*, *Shetland*, et *Ferva*, noto.

Ad Germaniam Magnam, &c.] Ita a Græcis dictam. Comprehendebat hæc hodiernum Germaniæ Imperium, Belgium, Daniam, Norvegiam, &c.

Novanto chersoneso.] Descriptam hanc vide Cap. iv. § 40. hodie *the Mull of Galloway* in Scotia. Locus maxime versus meridiem vergens, quem credidere extremam partem septentrionalem hujus regni falso veteres[3]. Ita eos emendavimus.

Per Taixalorum regionis angulum.] Similiter descriptum infra Cap. vi. § 46. hodie *Buchaness.*

DCCC. m. p. &c.] Quod Diodorus alterum a freto ad verticem assurgens latus, stadium XVM. habere dicit[4], id est, M.DCCC.LXXV. mill. pass. quod erronee Monachus noster ad MM.CC. evehit, qua nisus auctoritate, non constat.

Omnes, &c.] Certe non alius, præter Cæsarem ejusque sequaces vel transcriptores. Cæsar vero, quod notatu dignum est, a druidibus didicit, etenim vicies centena mill. pass. ab hoc imperatore assignatus circuitus complectitur[5], nullum vero ipso tempore posteriorum invenimus in hoc ipsi consentientem, licet is proxime ad veritatem accesserit, immo Diodorus ipsi contemporaneus 5312½ m. p. statuit[6]. Strabo, Augusto imperante florens, 1712½ habet[7], verum, quod dolendum! textus totus est corruptus, et mutilatus in hac descriptione, quod ex ejusdem libro secundo videri potest,

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[1] Geogr. lib. iv. p. 199.
[2] Iliad. Σ. 487.
[3] Ptolemæus, &c.
[4] Bibl. Hist. lib. v. cap. 21.
[5] De Bell. Gall. lib. v. cap. 13.
[6] Bibl. Hist. lib. v. cap. 21.
[7] Geogr. lib. iv. p. 199.

ex quo etiam textus partim supplendus[1]. Plinius sub Vespasiano, ex Isidoro Characeno tricies octies viginti quinque[2], aut 3825. m. p. habet. Sequitur ipsum fideliter M. Capella[3]. In Solino, qui Constantini tempore vixit, quadragies octies septuaginta quinque (ut supra) leguntur[4], quod ex errore Ricardus noster MMM.CCCCC. interpretatur. Pytheas Massiliensis ambitum insulæ majorem esse XLM. stadia seu 5000 m. p. secundum Strabonem[5], quod monstrat Plinium emendandum esse, ubi Pythiæ computum Isidori calculo æqualem dicit[6], vel potius hunc, ni utrumque omisit.

Sed errant, &c.] Atque in id genus rebus vix atque vix ulla est via evitandi errores. Rationem cur et veteres et recentiores in emetiendo regionum circuitus dissentientes adeo inveniamus, indicat nobis Plinius dicens[7]—" quæ causa magnos errores computatione mensuræ sæpius parit, et dum alibi mutato provinciarum modo, alibi itinerum auctis aut diminutis passibus, incubuere maria tam longo ævo, alibi processere littora, torsere se et fluminum aut correxere flexus. Præterea aliunde alia exordiam mensuræ est, et alia meatus: ita fit, ut nulli duo concinant."

CCCC. m. p.] Distantia hæc, si de ea quæ in linea recta promontoria duo, quorum facta est mentio, interjacet, exactissima omnium, quarum mentionem injiciunt veteres, videtur esse; verum si dimensio intelligitur, quæ ad Canalem sitæ sunt, oranum maritimarum, manifesto nimis parva est, et correctio locum hic non habet, cum accurata congruat cum D. m. p. Cæsaris. Doct. N. Grew asserit, itinere a promontorio meridionali Cantii, *the South Foreland*, ad promontorium Antivestæum, *the Land's End*, esse 367 perambulatore mensurata (*wheel-measured*) milliaria[8], quæ plus minus æqualia sunt CCCCI. mill. pass.

M. mill. pass. &c.] Unde Ricardus noster has correctiones hauserit, nisi ex scholiis quibusdam Cæsaris, Solini, Bedæ, &c.

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[1] Geogr. lib. ii. p. 128.
[2] N. H. lib. iv. c. 16.
[3] Lib. iv. pag. 215.
[4] Cap. de Brit.
[5] Geogr. lib. ii. pag. 104.
[6] N. H. lib. iv. c. 16.
[7] N. H. lib. iii. c. 1.
[8] Philos. Trans. N. 330. pag. 266.

conjecturatu perquam difficile, præsipue cum ipsum Cap. I. §. 8. cum Marciano Heracleota consentientem, jam vero dissentientem videamus, etenim auctor, ut supra[1] diximus, distantiam, quæ in linea recta est Ocrinum inter et Novantum 386 m. p. ponit id quod Monachus noster ad 1000 evehit, qui numerus fere triplo major est. Quod ad totum, quem statuit, circuitum numeris rotundis MMM.CCCCCC. complexum attinet, cum tantum ad XXV. m. p. excedat priscum 3575 milliarium nullam meretur ista differentia attentionem. Me judice Benedictinus noster fidelis videtur compilator, et bono animo præditus, verum talis, qui nunquam ultimam limam admovit Commentariolo suo, licet memoriæ minus fideli laborasse nec accuratum satis fuisse non credam, defectus vero istius rationem disceptationemque cum inter et antistitem suum, de qua terminis satis pathoticis loquitur pagina [49, [70, [79, fuisse credo. Inde constat, cur Silures Hispaniam versus habitare docuerit, in quo Tacito sequitur[2], verum persuasus sum, si opus suum attente revisserit, Mappam ejus ipsi errorum omnem eripuisse. Verum autem vero, quid dicatus in extussationem celebris cujusdam auctoris ex recentioribus, qui Herculis promontorium in parte Devoniæ versus, Cauxum (*the North-west*) collocat, narratque illud a situ in hac insulæ parte, quam Herculis columnas seu Gades respicit, (eodem jure Caput Bonæ Spei dixisset) nomen cepisse[3]. Attamen si de Ocrino dixisset illud, ejus in gratiam, licet impropriissime dictum, admittere tamen potuissemus.

IV. *Formam totius Brittaniæ, &c.*] Formæ regionibus tributæ mere sunt imaginariæ, e fructifera spectatorum imaginatione resultantes, cum ipsæ propter inæqualitates partium perfectæ figuræ sint incapaces. Sic ubi videmus Strabonem orbem universum chlamydi assimilare[4], Dionysium eum fundæ similem fingere[5], Strabonem Hispaniæ pellis bovinæ speciem ascribere[6], Polybium Italiæ formam trigoni, Plinium et Solinum querno folio similem

[1] Pag. [4 et [106.
[2] Vita Agricolæ c. 2.
[3] N. Salmon's new Survey of England vol. ii. p. 841.
[4] Geogr. lib. ii. pag. 118 et 122.
[5] Descriptio Orbis v. 7.
[6] Geogr. lib. ii. pag. 127 et 137.

referre[1], Livium Britanniæ nostræ ecthlæ figuram[2], Fabium bipennis[3], et Alsherif Aledinsy (aut Geographum Nubiensem) Stomiocameli similitudinem tribuere[4]; eosdemque illis, æquiquam et boni illud consulere decet, nec iis solum veterum et recentioribus qui Angliam, armum ovillum (*a shoulder of mutton*); Galliam, anoppygium bovis (*a rump of beef*); Hiberniam, pectus Arcturicum; Islandiam, asellum (*a stock-fish*) insigne hujus insulæ; Cimbricam chersonesum, linguam caninam; Belgium, lentem exsiccatam; Italiam, ocream; totam Europam virginem; Americam clepsydram &c. representare dicunt.

Sed Cæsar, &c.] Ita etiam Diodorus Siculus[5], Strabo Cappadox[6], Pomponius Mela[7] hoc eam triquetræ vel triquadræ dimensionem; quod licet non omnino exacte satis congruat, attamen optime hac figura geometrica complexum dixerit. Linea a Cantio ad Antivestæum ducta astrifasia 865 millium, duplum hujus longitudinis datur utique orari in *Penn Head* promontorio, sive *Cape Wrath* terminato, a isoscele 1995 millium geometricorum in circuitu complectens habens, mensuræ geometricæ circuitum Magnæ Britanniæ, tantum ad unum milliare a celeberrimi Cambdeni computo aliis operationibus nixo[8], differentem, quod ipsum notatu est dignissimum. Ratam est figuram hanc aptam imperfectam insulæ continere 194699 millibus quadratis, cum, quæ in mari existunt, partes cum iis quæ mari aggestum permit-

[1] Polybius lib. ii. pag. 142. Plin. N. H. lib. iv. cap. 5. Solinus cap. 5.

[2] Hist. Rom. lib. xx. apud Tacitum Vit. Agr. cap. 10.

[3] Apud Tacitum l. c.

[4] Climat. 7. part. 2. pag. 272.

[5] Bibl. Hist. lib. v. cap. 21.

[6] Geogr. lib. iv. pag. 199.

[7] De situ Orbis lib. iii. cap. 6.

[8] Nostra autem ætas ex multis multorum itineribus certam quodammodo totius insulæ jam deprehendit dimensionem. A *Tarvisio* enim circumactis curvatisque littoribus per occasum ad *Bolerium* plus minus DCCC.XII. mill. pass. numerantur, inde conversa in austrum littoris fronte ad *Cantium* CCC.XX. mill. pass. Hinc secundum Germanicum mare anguloso recessibus per DCC.IIII. mill. pass. ad *Tarvisium* protenditur, ut hac ratione totius insulæ ambitus M.DCCC.XXXVI. mill. colligat. *Brit. pa.* 2. id est 2140 milliaria regia statutaria.

tunt, accuratissime mire congruunt. Additur jam superficies unius cuneis, propter crenatas oranum incisiones, quod, experientia teste, minimum non est, integer circuitus Albiensis geographicus prodibit æqualis 2569 milliaribus regiis; sive vicies octies centenis novem millibus passuum, id est 2809 milliaribus Romanis, quod mihi cogitandi ansam præbet, Plinii tricies octies viginticuinque m. p. corrigenda esse[1], ut sint vicies octies viginticuinque, tuncque remanet tantum differentia XVI. m. p. quam pro nihilo omnino reputare licet.

V. *Si Ptolemæo, &c.*] Claudius Ptolemæus astronomus et geographus celeberrimus, (patriæ Pelusiota,) qui et Alexandrini nomen fert, non quod Alexandriæ natus sit, sed quia observationes suas ibi instituit. Ricardus noster simul cum aliis Monachis eum regem Ægypti facit[2]. Scripsit ille XII libros Geographiæ, quibus aliorum sui temporis errores correxit. Liber II. III. IV. V. et VI, si non integrum opus, videntur non esse nisi corrupta et jejuna epitome; rationes, quæ hoc faciunt, non sunt hujus loci, inniluntur vero, iis, quæ occurrunt in Marciano Jornande[3], Ravennate, &c.

Litteram Z sed inversam, &c.] Hoc ipsissimum illud videtur, quod Tacitus supra, per immensum et enorme spatium indigitat, Cæsarque innuit, dicens, lateris orientis angulum maxime ad Germaniam spectare[4], quæ opinio in tantum invaluit, ut etiam ad seculum XIVtum firma manserit. Apparet hoc ex illo Gemmæ Frysii, de Orbis divisione cap. 4. "Contendunt," inquit, "hic multi, præcipue nostri sæculi, Geographi, superiorem angulum Scotiæ non eo modo in ortum prominere quemadmodum Ptolemæus ac nostri globi descriptio habet. Verum his (quam nihil habeant, quo

[1] N. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 16.

[2] Supra pag. [35 et [64. Anonymus Ravenn. Geogr. lib. iv. cap. 4. et 11. Frontem codicis, qui in Bibliolh. D. Marci Venetiis extat, ornat effigies Ptolemæi, vestitu regio induti, imposita capiti corona; error est, nonnullis quoque viris retentioris ac melii ævi. Symoni Grynæo in Præfat. ad Almagestum Basileæ, 1538, &c. et, ut Vossius de Scient. Mathemat. pag. 162. testatur, ante eum aliis.

[3] Lib. de rebus Geticis.

[4] De Bell. Gall. lib. v. cap. 13.

id edocere possint,) temere fides adhibenda non est, imo ipsimet Scoti, nobis inquirentibus, in orientem solem latus extare, fessi sunt." Hi e Scylla Charybdin incidentes, polos mutatos esse supponunt[1], unde iis ceu melius fundamentum cum superædificent suam theoriam, notam meam pag 94. commendatam volo.

Mapparum inspectio.] Propriam verosimiliter putat auctor, sed aliter sentiunt nostri ævi eruditi[2].

Ut caput hoc completum reddamus in describendis oris Albionis subsistimus, ut jam a Ptolemæo descriptæ sunt[3], ad minimum in iis, quæ nomen ejus habent, libris, partes interiores, notasque reservaturi donec ad loca, quorsum pertinent, pervenerimus.

ALBIONIS INSULÆ BRITANNIÆ SITUS.

	o /	o /
Septentrionalis lateris descriptio, quod alluit oceanus, qui vocatur Deucaledonius. Novantum Chersonesus, et ejusdem nominis promontorium habet	Longit. 21. 0.	Lat. 61.40.
Rerigonius sinus	20.30.	60.45.
Vidotara sinus	21.20.	60.30.
Clota æstuarium	22.15.	59.40.
Lelannonius sinus	24. 0.	60.40.
Epidium promontorium	23. 0.	60.40.
Longi fluv. ostia	24. 0.	60.40.
Itys fluv. ostia	27. 0.	60 0.
Volsas sinus	29. 0.	60.30.
Nabæi fluv. ostia	30. 0.	60.30.
Tarvedum, quod Orcas promontorium	31.20.	60.15.
Occidentalis lateris descriptio, quod Ibernicus ac Vergivius alluit oceanus. Post Novantum Chersonesum quæ habet	21. 0.	61.40.

[1] Vide Horsley's Britannia Romana pag. 361. nec non Philos. Transact. N. 190. 241. 255.

[2] Vide D. Stukeley's Carausius pag. 134. et 169. &c.

[3] Geogr. lib. ii. cap. 3.

Abravanni fluv. ostia	Long. 19.20.	Lat. 61. 0.
Jenæ æstuarium	19. 0.	60.30.
Devæ fluv. ostia	18. 0.	60. 0.
Novii fluv. ostia	18.20.	59.30.
Ituna æstuarium	18.30.	58.45.
Moricambe æstuarium	17.30.	58.20.
Setantiorum portus	17.20.	57.45.
Belisama æstuarium	17.30.	57.20.
Seteia æstuarium	17. 0.	57. 0.
Toisobii fluv. ostia	15.40.	56.20.
Cancanorum promontorium	15. 0.	56. 0.
Stuciæ fluv. ostia	15.20.	55 30.
Tuerobii fluv. ostia	15. 0.	55. 0.
Octapitarum promontorium	14.20.	54.30.
Tobii fluv. ostia	15.30.	54.30.
Ratostathybii fluv. ostia	16.30.	54.30.
Sabriani æstuarium	17.20.	54.30.
Vexala æstuarium	16. 0.	53.30.
Herculis promontorium	14. 0.	53. 0.
Antivestæum promontorium quod etiam dicitur Bolerium	11. 0.	52.30.
Damnonium quod etiam dicitur Ocrinum promontorium	12. 0.	51.30.
Reliqui Meridionalis lateris descriptio, quod Britannicus oceanus alluit. Post Ocrinum promontorium Cenionis fluv. ostia	14. 0.	51.45.
Tamari fluv. ostia	15.40.	52.10.
Isacæ fluv. ostia	17. 0.	52.20.
Alaini fluv. ostia	17.40.	52.40.
Magnus portus	19. 0.	53. 0.
Trisantonis fluv. ostia	20.20.	53. 0.
Novus portus	21. 0.	53.30.
Cantium promontorium	22. 0.	54. 0.

Orientalis deinde ac Australis plagæ latera, quæ Germanico alluuntur oceano, describuntur.		
Post Tarvedum, quod et Orcas prom. quod dictum est Virvedrum promontorium..	Long. 31. 0.	Lat. 60. 0.
Berubium promontorium..	30.30.	59.40.
Ilæ fluv. ostia	30. 0.	59.40.
Ripa alta promontorium	29. 0.	59.40.
Loxæ fluv. ostia	28.30.	59.40.
Vara æstuarium	27 30.	59.40.
Tuæsis æstuarium	27 0	59. 0.
Celnii fluv. ostia	27. 0.	58.45.
Taizalum promontorium	27.30.	58.30.
Divæ fluv. ostia	26. 0.	58.30.
Tava æstuarium	25 0.	58.30.
Tinnæ fluv. ostia	24.30.	58.45.
Boderia æstuarium	22.30.	58.45.
Alaunı fluv. ostia	21.40.	58.30.
Vedræ fluv. ostia	20.10.	58.30.
Dunum sinus	20.15.	57.30.
Gabrantuicorum portuosus sinus	21. 0.	57. 0.
Ocellum promontorium	21.15.	56.40.
Abi fluv. ostia	21. 0.	56 30.
Metaris æstuarium	20.30.	55.40.
Garryeni fluv. ostia	21 0.	55.20.
——— extensio *sive* extrema	21.15.	55. 5.
Idumanii fluv. ostia	20.10.	55.10.
Jamissa æstuarium	20.30.	54.30.
Post quam Cantium est promontorium	22. 0.	54. 0.

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THE END.

ERRATA.

Page 47, *after* Britannis, line 19, *add*
But on the coming of Claudius, they with the neighbouring people were subdued, and their country reduced to a Roman province, first called Cæsariensis and afterwards Flavia.

Page 69, note 6, to Muridunum, *for* Seaton *read* Caermarthen.
88, line 2, *after* Britons *add* Alban.
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115, line 3, *for* it crossed *read* they crossed.
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DIRECTIONS FOR THE BINDER.

The antient map to face p. 1.

Map of the Roman roads to face p. 101.

Fac simile of the MS. of Richard of Cirencester to face p. [3 of the Latin original.

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